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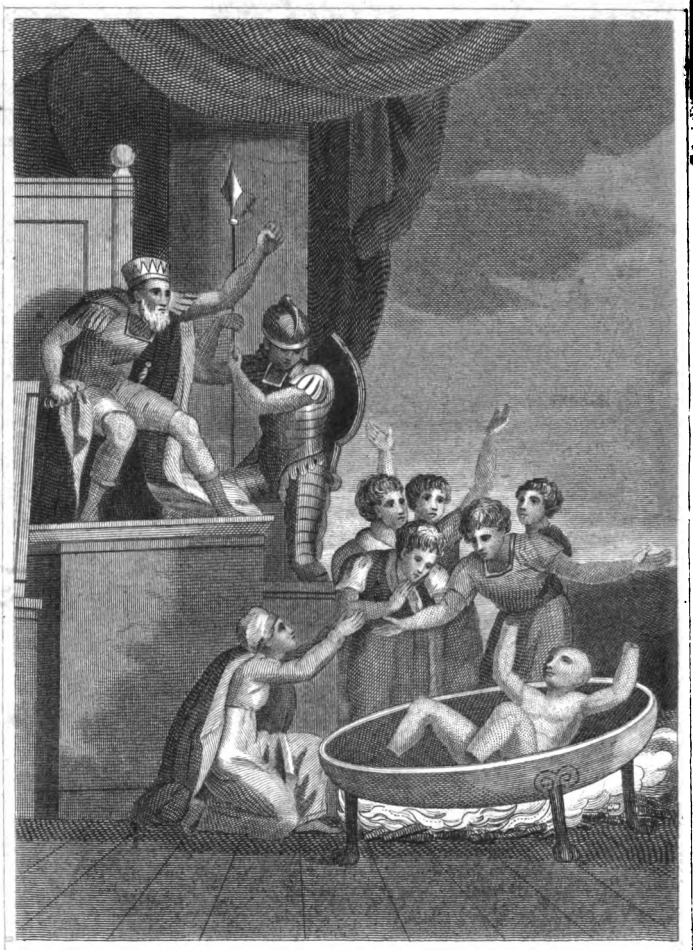
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**PRESENTED BY
MRS. HENRY T. LOUTHAN**

FRONTISPICE



A MARTYR.

A
HISTORY
OF THE
MOST DISTINGUISHED
MARTYRS,
IN

VARIOUS AGES AND COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD;

EMBRACING ACCOUNTS OF THEIR

Sufferings and Death,

WITH OTHER INTERESTING PARTICULARS.

COMPILED FROM THE
MOST AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

ILLUSTRATED BY COPPERPLATE ENGRAVINGS.

Philadelphia:
PUBLISHED BY A. SALISBURY.

William Staveland, printer.

1830.

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Eastern District of Pennsylvania, to wit:

Be it remembered, that on the nineteenth day of October in the fifty-fifth year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1830, William Staveland of the said district, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the words following, to wit:—

A History of the most distinguished Martyrs, in various ages and countries of the world; embracing accounts of their sufferings and death; with other interesting particulars. Compiled from the most authentic documents. Illustrated by copperplate engravings.

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, intituled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned"—And also to the act, entitled, "An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, 'An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned;' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

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PREFACE.



IN giving an accurate account of Martyrs, it is not intended to enter largely into the histories which are contained in the Holy Scriptures. It is to be presumed that those who will take an interest in the perusal of the following pages, are in the habit of reading those sacred writings which contain *the revealed will of God to men*, and which are profitable for all the purposes of faith and practice. We shall therefore give but brief accounts of any who suffered for the faith, until after the period when the sacred canon was closed. It was not until after the death of Christ, that the religion which he founded became the object of distinct and virulent persecution by the civil powers; and as the history then is to be derived only from sources extraneous to the Scriptures, it is the time most fitting to commence the regular history of Christian Martyrs. And the one grand object of a Book of Martyrs, is to show how faith in Jesus Christ, the Divine Redeemer of the world, can sustain the believer in the darkest hour of trial, suffering, and death.

The following work has been compiled from a variety of works on Ecclesiastical History, particularly Mosheim and Milner; the basis has been made Fox's Book of Martyrs, with very important additions and corrections throughout. Several of the lives of early Martyrs, such as Ignatius and Polycarp, have been newly prepared from materials not found in Fox's Book. Use has also been made of Croly's most interesting work on the Apocalypse, and Robinson's Scripture Characters.

HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS.

BOOK I.

SECTION I.

EARLIEST MARTYRS.

THE first martyr upon record, is, the first individual of the human family who tasted death. Abel was a martyr to the great doctrine of revealed religion, that "without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sins." His history is brief, and will be found in the early chapters of the book of Genesis.

The first general persecution on account of religion, was that of the children of Israel by the kings of Egypt. The history of this persecution makes a prominent part of the first ten chapters of the book of Exodus; and besides this, these chapters contain the record of God's judgments on the persecutors.

The children of Israel, as the worshippers of the true and living God, were in almost all the periods of their history subject to persecution as a people. They were persecuted in Palestine by their idolatrous neighbours, and in the later ages of their monarchy by the kings of Assyria, till at last they were carried away captive. In the progress of the sacred writings, there are some individual instances given which are well worthy of a most serious and attentive perusal for the holy dignity and fortitude and decision with which they adhered to the truth.

Elijah and Elisha may be instanced as among the earlier prophets; and during the times of the captivity, Daniel, the three holy children as they are called; also Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther. These are instances of authentic scripture history. There are cases of other martyrdoms in the period which intervened between the writing of Malachi the prophet and the birth of John the Baptist, about 415 years. The history of these is to be found principally in Josephus.

SECTION II.

MARTYRDOMS CONNECTED WITH THE NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY.

The first on the list of martyrs stands conspicuously the Lord Jesus Christ, the second person in the adorable Trinity, who assumed human nature and in that nature became a sacrifice for sin. He differs from all other martyrs in the essential dignity of his person, God and Man; in the purpose for which he died, to save sinners; in the fact, that His was a voluntary sacrifice for the redemption of the world, and in His resurrection and ascension into heaven. The history of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, is contained in the four gospels, and to them we refer the reader.

After the organization of the Christian church subsequent to the pouring out of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, the history of Christian martyrs may be said to begin.

The great characteristic of the church of God in the Apocalypse is, that it shall be a PERSECUTED RELIGION. It is predicted, that there shall be a false church, the perpetual enemy of the true, and that the latter shall be con-

stantly the inferior in power and popular name, and shall be constantly liable to the sword, until the period of a mighty and universal consummation; when the ways of God shall be justified by the ruin of the oppressor, and the full and magnificent triumph of Christianity.

This characteristic had been already declared by our Saviour and the apostles.

John xv. 20. "Remember the word that I said unto you. The servant is not greater than his master. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you. (Ver. 21.) But all those things will they do unto you for my name's sake; because they know not him that sent me."

Matthew v. 10. "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for their's is the kingdom of heaven. (Ver. 11.) Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake."

Chap. xxiii. 34. "Wherefore I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes: and some of them you shall *kill and crucify*: and some of them shall ye *scourge* in your synagogues, and *persecute* them from city to city."

Chap. xxiv. 9. "Then shall they deliver you up to be *afflicted, and shall kill* you; and ye shall be hated of all nations for my name's sake."

We find this prediction of our Saviour sustained by the whole experience of the church. St. Paul, nearly thirty years after, and towards the close of his course, gives this vivid picture of suffering. "We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed!"*

* 2 Cor. iv. 8, 9.

The conviction, that the state of the true church was to be one of struggle till the end, amounted to a maxim. "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus *shall suffer persecution.*"* The apostle goes even further, and distinctly points out a crisis when the sincerity and strength of the faith would be put to the test by public and remarkable sufferings. "Every man's work shall be made manifest: for **THE DAY** shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; *and the fire shall try every man's work*, of what sort it is."†

St. Peter, in the same spirit and experience, prepares the church for an immediate and public persecution, and declares it to be the natural inheritance of the followers of our Lord.

1 Peter iv. 12. "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the *fiery trial* which is to *try you*, as though some strange thing happened unto you. (Ver. 13.) But rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. (Ver. 16.) If any man *suffer as a Christian*, let him not be ashamed. (Ver. 17.) For the time *is come that judgment must begin at the house of God*: And if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey not the gospel of God? (Ver. 19.) Wherefore let *them that suffer*, according to the will of God, commit the keeping of their souls to him in well doing as unto a faithful Creator!"

It might be thought that those trials were merely incident to the first state of all great innovations. But then stands forth the mysterious splendour of the Apocalypse, like an archangel covered with his own wings,

* 2 Tim. iii. 12.

† 1 Cor. iii. 13.

and shows the principle prolonged through age on age, the spirit of violence and bloodshed paramount until the hour of its destined overthrow by the visible hand of heaven.

THE JEWS.

The first persecutors of Christianity were the Jews. The fear that the new dispensation would supersede their law; and the sublime boldness of the apostles, who openly charged them with the death of our Lord as a sacrilegious murder, stirred the Sanhedrim to vengeance. Three distinguished servants of the Faith, Stephen, James the son of Zebedee, and James the Just, head of the church of Jerusalem, were slain, and the church was altogether dispersed, excepting the apostles.*

We shall give some account of these in their order.

ST. STEPHEN.

This early martyr was elected, with six others, as a deacon out of the Lord's seventy disciples. He was an able and successful preacher. The principal persons belonging to five Jewish synagogues entered into many altercations with him; but he, by the soundness of his doctrine, and the strength of his arguments, overcame them all, which so much irritated them, that they bribed false witnesses to accuse him of blaspheming God and Moses. On being carried before the council, he made a noble defence: but that so much exasperated his judges, that they resolved to condemn him. At this instant Stephen saw a vision from heaven, which represented Jesus, in his glorified state, sitting at the right hand of

Acts. viii. 1.

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God. This vision so greatly rejoiced him, that he exclaimed, in raptures, "Behold I see the heavens open, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God." This caused him to be condemned, and, having dragged him out of the city, they stoned him to death. On the spot where he was martyred, Eudocia, the empress of the emperor Theodosius, erected a superb church, and the memory of him is annually celebrated on the 26th day of December.

The death of Stephen was succeeded by a severe persecution in Jerusalem, in which 2000 Christians, with Nicanor the deacon, were martyred; and many others obliged to leave that country.

ST. JAMES THE SON OF ZEBEDEE.

He was a Galilean, and the son of Zebedee, a fisherman, the elder brother of St. John, and a relation to Christ himself; for his mother Salome was cousin-german to the Virgin Mary. Being one day with his father fishing in the sea of Galilee, he and his brother John were called by our Saviour to become his disciples. They cheerfully obeyed the mandate, and leaving their father, followed Jesus. It is to be observed, that Christ placed a greater confidence in them than in any other of the apostles, Peter excepted.

Christ called these brothers Boanerges, or the Sons of Thunder, on account of their vigorous minds, and impetuous tempers.

When Herod Agrippa was made governor of Judea by the emperor Caligula, he raised a persecution against the Christians, and particularly singled out James as an object of his vengeance. This martyr, on being condemned to death, showed such an intrepidity of spirit,

and constancy of mind, that even his accuser was struck with admiration, and became a convert to Christianity. This transition so enraged the people in power, that they condemned him likewise to death; when James the apostle and his penitent accuser were both beheaded on the same day, and with the same sword. These events took place in the year of Christ 44; and the 25th of July was fixed by the church for the commemoration of this saint's martyrdom.

About the same period, Timon and Parmenas, two of the seven deacons, suffered martyrdom; the former at Corinth, and the latter at Philippi, in Macedonia.

ST. JAMES THE JUST.

This apostle and martyr was called so to distinguish him from St. James the Great. He was the son, by a first wife, of Joseph, the reputed father of Christ: he was, after the Lord's ascension, elected bishop of Jerusalem: he wrote his general epistles to all Christians and converts whatever, to suppress a dangerous error then propagating, viz. "That a faith in Christ was alone sufficient for salvation, without good works." The Jews, being at this time greatly enraged that St. Paul had escaped their fury, by appealing to Rome, determined to wreak their vengeance on James, who was now ninety-four years of age: they accordingly threw him down, beat, bruised, and stoned him; and then dashed out his brains with a club, such as was used by fullers in dressing cloths. His festival, together with that of St. Philip, is kept on the first of May.

The other apostles of our Saviour who suffered death for the faith of Jesus, will now be mentioned. They

suffered at different times; but their histories are here introduced in a connected view, because, as apostles of Christ, they stand raised above the level of other martyrdoms.

ST. PHILIP.

This apostle and martyr was born at Bethsaida, in Galilee, and was the first called by the name of Disciple. He was employed in several important commissions by Christ, and being deputed to preach in Upper Asia, laboured very diligently in his apostleship. He then travelled into Phrygia, and arriving at Heliopolis, found the inhabitants so sunk in idolatry, as to worship a large serpent. St. Philip, however, converted many of them to Christianity, and even procured the death of the serpent. This so enraged the magistrates, that they committed him to prison, had him severely scourged, and afterwards crucified. His friend St. Bartholomew found an opportunity of taking down the body, and burying it; for which, however, he was very near suffering the same fate. His martyrdom happened eight years after that of St. James the Great, A. D. 52; and his name, together with that of St. James the Just, is commemorated on the 1st of May.

ST. MATTHEW.

This evangelist, apostle, and martyr, was born at Nazareth, in Galilee, but resided chiefly at Capernaum, on account of his business, which was that of a toll-gatherer, to collect tribute of such as had occasion to pass the sea of Galilee. On being called as a disciple, he immediately complied, and left every thing to follow Christ.

After the ascension of his master, he continued preaching the gospel in Judea about nine years. Intending to leave Judea, in order to go and preach among the Gentiles, he wrote his gospel in Hebrew, for the use of the Jewish converts; but it was afterwards translated into Greek by St. James the Just. He then went to Ethiopia, ordained preachers, settled churches, and made many converts. He afterwards proceeded to Parthia, where he had the same success; but returning to Ethiopia, he was slain by a halberd, in the city of Nadabar, about the year of Christ 60; and his festival is kept by the church on the 21st day of September. He was inoffensive in his conduct, and in his mode of living remarkably temperate.

ST. MARK.

This evangelist and martyr was born of Jewish parents, of the tribe of Levi. It is imagined, that he was converted to Christianity by St. Peter, whom he served as an amanuensis, and whom he attended in all his travels. Being entreated by the converts at Rome to commit to writing the admirable discourses they had heard from St. Peter and himself, he complied with this request, and composed his gospel accordingly, in the Greek language. He then went to Egypt, and constituted a bishopric at Alexandria: afterwards he proceeded to Lybia, where he made many converts. On returning to Alexandria, some of the Egyptians, exasperated at his success, determined on his death. They therefore tied his feet, dragged him through the streets, left him bruised in a dungeon all night, and the next day burned his body. This happened on the 25th of April, on which day the church commemorates his martyrdom.

His bones were carefully gathered up by the Christians, decently interred, and afterwards removed to Venice, where he is considered as the tutelar saint and patron of the state.

ST. MATTHIAS.

This apostle and martyr was called to the apostleship after the death of Christ, to supply the vacant place of Judas, who had betrayed his master, and was likewise one of the seventy disciples. He was martyred at Jerusalem, being first stoned and then beheaded; and the 24th of February is observed for the celebration of his festival.

ST. ANDREW.

This apostle and martyr was the brother of St. Peter, and preached the gospel to many Asiatic nations. On arriving at Edessa, the governor of the country, named Egeas, threatened him for preaching against the idols there worshipped. St. Andrew persisting in the propagation of his doctrines, he was ordered to be crucified on a cross, two ends of which were transversely fixed in the ground. He boldly told his accusers, that he would not have preached the glory of the cross, had he feared to die on it. And again, when they came to crucify him, he said, that he coveted the cross, and longed to embrace it. He was fastened to the cross, not with nails but cords, that his death might be more slow. In this situation he continued two days, preaching the greatest part of the time to the people; and expired on the 30th of November, which is commemorated as his festival.

ST. PETER.

This great apostle and martyr was born at Bethsaida, in Galilee, being the son of Jonah, a fisherman, which employment St. Peter himself followed. He was persuaded by his brother to turn Christian, when Christ gave him the name of Cephas, implying, in the Syriac language, a rock. He was called, at the same time as his brother, to be an apostle; gave uncommon proofs of his zeal for the service of Christ, and always appeared as the principal speaker among the apostles. He had, however, the weakness to deny his master after his apprehension, though he defended him at the time; but the sincerity of his repentance made an atonement for the atrociousness of his crime.

After the death of Christ, the Jews still continued to persecute the Christians, and ordered several of the apostles, among whom was Peter, to be scourged. This punishment they bore with the greatest fortitude, and rejoiced that they were thought worthy to suffer for the sake of their Redeemer.

When Herod Agrippa caused St. James the Great to be put to death, and found that it pleased the Jews, he resolved, in order to ingratiate himself with the people, that Peter should fall the next sacrifice. He was accordingly apprehended, and thrown into prison; but an angel of the Lord released him, which so enraged Herod, that he ordered the sentinels who guarded the dungeon in which he had been confined, to be put to death. St. Peter, after various other miracles, retired to Rome, where he defeated all the artifices, and confounded the magic, of Simon, the magician, a great favourite of the emperor Nero; he likewise converted to Christianity one of the concubines of that monarch, which so exaspe-

rated the tyrant, that he ordered both St. Peter and St. Paul to be apprehended. During the time of their confinement, they converted two of the captains of the guards, and forty-seven other persons, to Christianity. Having been nine months in prison, Peter was brought out from thence for execution, when, after being severely scourged, he was crucified with his head downwards; which position, however, was at his own request. His festival is observed on the 29th of June, on which day he, as well as Paul, suffered. His body being taken down, embalmed, and buried in the Vatican, a church was erected on the spot; but this being destroyed by the emperor Heliogabalus, the body was removed till the 20th bishop of Rome, called Cornelius, conveyed it again to the Vatican: afterwards Constantine the Great erected one of the most stately churches in the universe over the place. Before we quit this article, it is requisite to observe, that previous to the death of St. Peter, his wife suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ, and was exhorted, when going to be put to death, to remember her Saviour.

ST. PAUL.

This apostle and martyr was a Jew of the tribe of Benjamin, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, and, before his conversion, was called Saul. He was at first a great enemy to, and persecutor of the Christians; and a principal promoter of the death of Stephen. While on his way to Damascus, the glory of the Lord came suddenly upon him, he was struck to the earth, and was afflicted with blindness during three days; on his recovery from which, he immediately became a professor, an apostle, and ulti-

~~mately~~ a martyr for the religion which he had formerly persecuted. Amongst his labours in spreading the doctrine of Christ, he converted to the faith Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, on which he took his name, and, as some suppose, was from thence called Paulus instead of Saulus. After his many labours he took to him Barnabas, and went up to Jerusalem, to Peter, James, and John, where he was ordained, and sent out with Barnabas to preach to the Gentiles. At Iconium, St. Paul and St. Barnabas were near being stoned to death by the enraged Jews; upon which they fled to Lycaonia. At Lystra, St. Paul was stoned, dragged out of the city, and left for dead. He, however, happily revived, and escaped to Derbe. At Philippi, Paul and Silas were imprisoned and whipped; and both were again persecuted at Thessalonica. Being afterwards taken at Jerusalem, he was sent to Cæsarea, but appealed to Cæsar at Rome. Here he continued a prisoner at large for two years; and at length being released, he visited the churches of Greece and Rome, and preached in France and Spain. Returning to Rome, he was again apprehended, and, by the order of Nero, martyred, by being beheaded, on the same day on which Peter was crucified, but in the following year. Two days are dedicated to the commemoration of this apostle; the one for his conversion, on the 25th of January; and the other for his martyrdom, on the 29th of June.

ST. JUDE.

This apostle and martyr, the brother of James, was commonly called Thaddæus. Being sent to Edessa, he wrought many miracles, and made many converts, which stirring up the resentment of people in power, he

was crucified, A. D. 72; and the 28th of October is, by the church, dedicated to his memory.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

This apostle⁶ and martyr preached in several countries, performed many miracles, and healed various diseases. He translated St. Matthew's gospel into the Indian language, and propagated it in that country; but at length, the idolators growing impatient with his doctrines, severely beat, crucified, and slew him, and then cut off his head. The anniversary of his martyrdom is on the 24th of August.

ST. THOMAS.

He was called by this name in Syriac, but Didymus in Greek; he was an apostle and martyr, and preached in Parthia and India, where, displeasing the Pagan priests, he was martyred by being thrust through with a spear. His death is commemorated on the 21st of December.

ST. LUKE THE EVANGELIST.

This martyr was the author of a most excellent gospel.—He travelled with St. Paul to Rome, and preached to divers barbarous nations, till the priests in Greece hanged him on an olive tree. The anniversary of his martyrdom is on the 18th of October.

ST. SIMON.

This apostle and martyr was distinguished, from his zeal, by the name of Zelotes. He preached with great success in Mauritania, and other parts of Africa, and even in Britain, where, though he made many converts, he was crucified, A. D. 74; and the church joining him with St. Jude, commemorates his festival on the 28th of October.

ST. JOHN.

He was distinguished for being a prophet, apostle, divine, evangelist, and martyr. He is called the beloved disciple, and was brother to James the Great. He was previously a disciple of John the Baptist, and afterwards not only one of the twelve apostles, but one of the three to whom Christ communicated the most secret passages of his life. He founded churches at Smyrna, Pergamus, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and Thyatira, to whom he directs his book of Revelations. Being at Ephesus, he was ordered by the emperor Domitian to be sent bound to Rome, where he was condemned to be cast into a cauldron of boiling oil. But here a miracle appeared in his favour; the oil did him no injury, and Domitian, therefore, not being able to put him to death, banished him to Patmos, to work at the mines. He was, however, recalled by Nerva, who succeeded Domitian; but was deemed a martyr on account of his having undergone an execution, though it did not take effect. He wrote his epistles, gospel, and revelations, all in a different style; but they are all equally admired. He was the only apostle who escaped a violent death, and lived the longest of any of them, being nearly 100 years of

age at the time of his death; and the church commemorates the 27th day of December to his memory.

ST. BARNABAS.

He was a native of Cyprus, but of Jewish parents: the time of his death is uncertain, but it is supposed to be about the year of Christ 73; and his festival is kept on the 11th of June.

SECTION III.

FIRST AND SECOND PRIMITIVE PERSECUTIONS UNDER NERO, AND DOMITIAN.

The first persecution, in the primitive ages of the church, was begun by that cruel tyrant Nero Domitius, the sixth emperor of Rome, and A. D. 67. This monarch reigned, for the space of five years, with tolerable credit to himself, but then gave way to the greatest extravagancy of temper, and to the most atrocious barbarities. Among other diabolical outrages, he ordered that the city of Rome should be set on fire, which was done by his officers, guards, and servants. While the city was in flames, he went up to the tower of Mæcenas, played upon his harp, sung the song of the burning of Troy, and declared "That he wished the ruin of all things before his death." Among the noble buildings burnt was the circus, or place appropriated to horse-races. It was half a mile in length, of an oval form, with rows of seats

rising above each other, and capable of receiving, with ease, upwards of 100,000 spectators. Many other palaces and houses were consumed; and several thousands of the people perished in the flames, were smothered, or buried beneath the ruins.

This dreadful conflagration continued nine days; when Nero, finding that his conduct was greatly blamed, and a severe odium cast upon him, determined to lay the whole upon the Christians, at once to excuse himself, and have an opportunity of witnessing new cruelties. The barbarities exercised upon the Christians, during the first persecution, were such as even excited the commiseration of the Romans themselves. Nero even refined upon cruelty, and contrived all manner of punishments for the Christians. In particular, he had some sewed up in the skins of wild beasts, and then worried by dogs till they expired; and others dressed in shirts made stiff with wax, fixed to axle-trees, and set on fire in his gardens. This persecution was general throughout the whole Roman empire; but it rather increased than diminished the spirit of Christianity. Besides St. Paul and St. Peter, many others suffered whose names have not been transmitted to posterity.

The emperor Domitian was naturally of a cruel disposition: he first slew his brother, and then raised the second persecution against the Christians. His rage was such, that he even put to death some of the Roman senators; some through malice, and others to confiscate their estates; and he then commanded all the lineage of David to be extirpated. Two Christians were brought before him, accused of being of the tribe of Judah, and line of David; but from their answers, he despised them as idiots, and dismissed them accordingly. He, however, was determined to be more secure upon other oc-

casions; for he took away the property of many Christians, put several to death, and banished others.

Amongst the numerous martyrs that suffered during this persecution was Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, who was crucified; and St. John, who was boiled in oil, and afterwards banished to Patmos. Flavia, the daughter of a Roman senator, was likewise banished to Pontus; and a law was made, "That no Christian, once brought before their tribunal, should be exempted from punishment without renouncing his religion."

During this reign there were a variety of tales, composed in order to injure the Christians. Among other falsehoods, they were accused of indecent nightly meetings, of a rebellious turbulent spirit; of being inimical to the Roman empire; of murdering their children, and even of being cannibals; and at this time, such was the infatuation of the pagans, that if famine, pestilence, or earthquakes, afflicted any of the Roman provinces, these calamities were said to be manifestations of the divine wrath occasioned by their impieties. These persecutions increased the number of informers; and many, for the sake of gain, swore away the lives of the innocent. When any Christians were brought before the magistrates, a test oath was proposed, when, if they refused it, death was pronounced against them; and if they confessed themselves Christians, the sentence was the same. The various kinds of punishments and inflicted cruelties were imprisonment, racking, searing, broiling, burning, scourging, stoning, hanging, and worrying. Many were torn piecemeal with red-hot pincers, and others were thrown upon the horns of wild bulls. After having suffered these cruelties, the friends of the deceased were refused the privilege of burning their remains.

The following were the most remarkable of the numerous martyrs who suffered during this persecution.

DIONYSIUS, the Areopagite: he was an Athenian by birth, and educated in all the useful and ornamental literature of Greece. Becoming a convert to the gospel, he changed from the worthy pagan magistrate to the pious Christian pastor; for even while involved in the darkness of idolatry, he was as just, as he possibly could be in the gross errors of paganism. After his conversion the sanctity of his conversation, and purity of his manners, recommended him so strongly to the Christians in general that he was appointed bishop of Athens. He discharged his duty with the utmost diligence till the *second year* of this persecution, viz. A. D. 69, when he was apprehended, and received the crown of martyrdom by being beheaded.

TIMOTHY, the celebrated disciple of St. Paul, and bishop of Ephesus, was born at Lystra, in the province of Lycaonia: his father was a Gentile, and his mother a Jewess; but both his parents and his grandmother embraced Christianity; by which means he was taught from his infancy the precepts of the gospel. Upon St. Paul's arrival at Lycaonia, he ordained Timothy, and then made him the companion of his labours. He mentions him with peculiar respect, and declares, that he could find no one so truly united to him, both in heart and mind. Timothy attended St. Paul to Macedonia, where, with that apostle and Silas, he laboured in the propagation of the gospel. When St. Paul went to Achaia, Timothy was left behind to strengthen the faith of those already converted, or to induce others to be of the true faith. St. Paul at length sent for him to Athens, and then dis-

patched him to Thessalonica, to preach to the suffering Christians there against the terrors of the persecution which then prevailed. Having performed his mission, he returned to Athens, and there assisted St. Paul and Silas in composing the two epistles to the Thessalonians. He then accompanied St. Paul to Corinth, Jerusalem, and Ephesus. After performing several other commissions for St. Paul, and attending him upon various journeys, the apostle constituted him bishop of Ephesus, though he was only thirty years of age; and in two admirable epistles gave him proper instructions for his conduct. While that great apostle was in his confinement at Rome, he desired Timothy to come to him; he afterwards returned to Ephesus, where he zealously governed the church till A. D. 97. At this period the pagans were about to celebrate a feast called Catagogion, the principal ceremonies of which were, that the people should carry sticks in their hands, go masked, and bear about the streets the images of their gods. When Timothy met the procession, he severely reprov'd them for their ridiculous idolatry, which so exasperated them, that they fell upon him with their clubs, and beat him in so dreadful a manner, that he expired of the bruises two days after.

THE THIRD PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION, UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

Between the second and the third Roman persecution was but one year. Upon Nerva succeeding Domitian, he gave a respite to the Christians; but reigning only thirteen months, his successor Trajan, in the tenth year of his reign, and in A. D. 108, began the third persecu-

tion against them. While the persecution raged, Plinius Secundus, a heathen philosopher, wrote to the emperor in favour of the Christians, stating that he found nothing objectionable in their conduct; and that "the whole sum of their error consisted in this, that they were wont at certain times appointed, to meet before day, and to sing certain hymns to one Christ their God: and to confederate among themselves, to abstain from all theft, murder, and adultery; to keep their faith, and to defraud no man: which done, then to depart for that time, and afterwards to resort again to take meat in companies together, both men and woman, one with another, *and yet without any act of evil.*" To this epistle Trajan returned this indecisive answer: "That Christians ought not to be sought after, but when brought before the magistracy they should be punished." Provoked by this reply, Tertullian exclaimed, "O confused sentence! he would not have them sought for as innocent men, and yet would have them punished as guilty." The emperor's incoherent answer, however, occasioned the persecution in some measure to abate, as his officers were uncertain, if they carried it on with severity, how he might choose to wrest his own meaning.—Trajan, however soon after wrote to Jerusalem, and gave orders to exterminate the stock of David; in consequence of which, all that could be found of that race were put to death.

About this period the emperor Trajan was succeeded by Adrian; who continued the persecution with the greatest rigour.

PHOCAS, bishop of Pontus, refusing to sacrifice to Neptune, was, by the immediate order of Trajan, cast first into a hot limekiln, and being drawn from thence, was thrown into a scalding bath till he expired.

IGNATIUS.

We are not informed from whom this celebrated martyr was descended, nor what country gave him birth. By some he is supposed to have been the little child, whom our blessed Lord set in the midst of his disciples, when he told them, "Except they were converted, and became as little children, they should not enter the kingdom of heaven." His eminence, as a zealous Christian, and one qualified to instruct others, sufficiently appears from his having been chosen Bishop of the Church at Antioch, by the Apostles. In this office he continued forty years, and adorned the doctrine of God his Saviour in all things.

The leading feature in Ignatius' character seems to have been humility; for while others regarded his knowledge and piety with unfeigned admiration, he embraced every opportunity of confessing his own unworthiness, and of acknowledging his grateful sense of the divine mercy. "I do not," says he, in one of his epistles, "dictate to you, as if I were a person of any consequence. For though I am bound for the name of Christ, I am not yet perfected in Christ Jesus. For I now begin to be a disciple, and speak to you as my teachers. I ought to be sustained by you in faith, in admonition, in patience, in long-suffering." Again, in writing of the church of Syria, he says, "I am even ashamed to be reckoned as one of them; for neither am I worthy, being the least among them, and as one born out of due season." How beautifully does this meek and lowly spirit agree with the command of our gracious Redeemer, to esteem ourselves as unprofitable servants, and how contrary is it to that spirit of vain glory so prevalent among men! Had not Ignatius possessed this genuine

self-abasement, the praise of his brethren might have proved a snare, and contented with the progress he had already made in the Christian course, he might have ceased to "press toward the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

There is no virtue more lovely in the sight of God than humility, and none more frequently inculcated by our Saviour and his disciples. Without it the Christian character can never be complete, and those who have been particularly distinguished for it, have in all ages been blessed by God. In Christian humility there is nothing mean and servile, nothing low and debasing. The humble indeed are not permitted to entertain exalted notions of themselves, nor to forget the necessity of a constant reliance on God; but they enjoy the glorious liberty of his children, for they are freed from the dominion of pride, envy, revenge, and the other baleful passions which invade the human heart. The promises of God, which belong to them, are many, and consoling. "Blessed are the poor in spirit," saith our Saviour, "for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." "Be clothed with humility," saith Peter, "for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. Though the Lord be high, yet hath he respect unto the lowly, but the proud he knoweth afar off."

We have no particular account of Ignatius' life, during the long period he laboured for the church at Antioch. While the fury of Domitian's persecution raged, we are informed that he continued instant in prayer and fasting, carefully watching over those who were weak in the faith, and ready to sink, in this season of trial. When the church was again restored to peace on the accession

of Nerva, the soul of the saint rejoiced in her prosperity, although he ardently desired to die for the sake of Christ.

The fervent desire of this excellent man to obtain a heavenly crown, was at length granted under Trajan. That Emperor, in the tenth year of his reign, visited Antioch on his way to Armenia and Parthia, against which countries war had been declared. The Scythians and Dacians had lately been subdued, and Trajan, elated by the pride of conquests, deemed the firmness of the Christians, in refusing to offer sacrifice, an insult deserving of punishment. The venerable Bishop of Antioch, anxious to avert the storm which threatened his beloved flock, voluntarily presented himself before the Emperor. When Trajan beheld Ignatius, he exclaimed, "What impious spirit art thou, both to transgress our commands, and to ensnare others into the same folly, to their destruction?" Ignatius answered,* "Theophoros ought not to be called so, forasmuch as all evil spirits are departed from the servants of God. But if thou callest me impious, because I am hostile to evil spirits, I own the charge in that respect, for I dissolve all their snares through the inward support of Christ, the heavenly king."

Traj. "Who is Theophorus?"

Ign. "He who has Christ in his breast."

Traj. "And thinkest thou not, that gods reside in us also, who fight for us against our enemies?"

Ign. "Thou mistakest in calling the demons of the nations by the name of gods. For there is only one God, who made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that

* Ignatius was also called Theophorus—borne of God or bearing God.

in them is, and one Jesus Christ, his only-begotten Son, whose kingdom be my portion."

Traj. "His kingdom, do you say, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate?"

Ign. "His kingdom who crucified my sin, with its author, and put all the fraud and malice of Satan, under the feet of those who carry him in their hearts."

Traj. "Dost thou then carry him who was crucified, within thee?"

Ign. "I do, for it is written, 'I dwell in them, and walk in them.'"

Trajan then pronounced the following sentence against him. "Since Ignatius confesses that he carries within himself that which was crucified, we command that he be carried to Great Rome, there to be thrown to the wild beasts, for the entertainment of the people."

This barbarous sentence, far from intimidating the martyr, filled his soul with joy. "I thank thee, O Lord," he exclaimed, "that thou hast vouchsafed to honour me with a perfect love towards thee, and hast made me to put on iron bonds, with the apostle Paul."

Having said this, he cheerfully put on his chains, and after fervently commending his church to the mercy and protection of God, he calmly yielded himself a prisoner to his cruel and ferocious guards.

For the motives which induced Trajan to send Ignatius to Rome, various reasons have been assigned. Some are of opinion, that he acted by the advice of the senate, who feared lest the constancy and sufferings of Ignatius should render him still more dear to the people of Antioch. Others imagine, that the emperor had hoped that the fatigue and pain endured by him in journeying to Rome, would compel him to renounce his faith, and deter others from embracing the Christian doctrines.

But Trajan knew not the character of a true believer, nor the strength and support Jehovah grants to his faithful servants. The fetters which bound his aged limbs, the inhumanity of his savage guards, shook not the firm soul of Ignatius. He betrayed no fear, he uttered no complaint; his faith and patience, his hope and desire of a heavenly inheritance increased, the nearer he approached the scene of his torments.

Every method was adopted, to add to the length of his painful voyage. Instead of choosing the more direct passage to Rome from Selucia, whither he had been conducted on foot, his persecutors put him on board a vessel which was to coast the southern and western parts of Asia Minor. On his arrival at Smyrna, he once more beheld Polycarp, bishop of that city, who with him had been the disciple of the apostle John. The pleasure afforded by this interview, to these affectionate brothers in Christ Jesus, may be more easily conceived than described. Polycarp, far from being dismayed by the sight of Ignatius' bonds, rejoiced in them, and earnestly exhorted him to persevere.

As the ship in which Ignatius had been conveyed, remained some time in port, they had frequent opportunities of meeting. The churches and cities in Asia, to testify their esteem for the bishop of Antioch, sent deputies to attend and console him. During his abode at Smyrna, he addressed epistles to the churches of Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, and Rome. In these epistles, the steadfast belief of this eminent Father in the leading doctrines of Christianity, evidently appears. They are pervaded by a spirit of faith, meekness, and charity, which must delight, while they edify the mind of every humble believer.

Although excited by just indignation, he terms those

who had infested the church with heresies and divisions, "Beasts in human shape," of whom he warns the followers of Christ to beware, and with whom he forbids them to hold any communication; yet he adds, "pray for them, if by any means, which is difficult, they may repent." How consonant is this to the command of our blessed Lord, "Pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you!" Were this injunction more strictly adhered to among professing Christians, did they more frequently practise that charity which "suffereth long, and is kind, which beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things," hatred and malice would cease, strife and contention would become unknown.

How important the doctrines of Christ's incarnation and sufferings were deemed by Ignatius, is fully shown in his writings. In addressing the church of Smyrna, he thus expresses himself: "I give glory to Jesus Christ, who is God, because he has so endowed you with wisdom. For I learn that ye are perfect in steadfast faith, as if nailed to the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, both in flesh and spirit: believing in our Lord Jesus Christ, that he truly came of the race of David, according to the flesh, being the Son of God; according to the will and power of God, that he was born of a virgin, that he was baptized by John, (so it became him to fulfil all righteousness, Matth. iii. 15.) that under Pontius Pilate, and Herod the Tetrarch, he was truly crucified in the flesh."—"For all these things he suffered for us, that we might be saved; and he truly suffered, as he also truly raised himself, not as some infidels say, that he suffered according to appearance, they themselves being but an appearance.—But I have both seen him in the flesh, after his resurrection, and believe that he lives."

The Socinians will find nothing favourable to their belief in the epistles of Ignatius; the pride of human reason is laid prostrate at the foot of the cross, and the equality of our Saviour with God, his taking our nature upon him, his suffering for us, and his glorious resurrection, are every where distinctly and positively affirmed:

After leaving Troas, he sailed to Neapolis, from thence to Philippi, where he was received with much kindness by the brethren. He was then conducted on foot through Macedonia, and Epirus, to Epidamus, a city of Dalmatia, from whence he sailed to Rhegium, a sea-port in Italy. Of the treatment he experienced during his long and painful journey, we may judge from a passage in his epistle to the Romans. "From Spain even to Rome, by land and sea, day and night I fight with wild beasts, being held captive by ten leopards, that is, a band of ten soldiers, who even when used gently become more ferocious." On their arrival at Puteoli, whither they next directed their course, the martyr desired to proceed by land to Rome, that he might have an opportunity of treading the footsteps of Paul. This being denied, after remaining a day and night at Puteoli, they again embarked, and soon reached Ostia, which is only sixteen miles from Rome. Impatient of delay, and fearful of being too late for the games, his keepers granted him no rest, but hurried him on to the scene where his sufferings and their cruelty were for ever to terminate. On learning his approach, many of the Roman Christians left the city, and advanced to meet him. The joy they experienced on beholding a man so eminently distinguished, was soon embittered by the remembrance of the cruel death to which he was condemned. When they ventured to intimate their feelings to Ignatius, and to express their anxiety for his preservation, he com-

manded them to be silent, and to show a true love for him, disputing yet more with them than he had done in his epistles, and persuading them not to envy him, who was hastening unto the Lord. His resolution thus continuing firm, he was conducted to Rome, and presented to the prefect of the city. To render his punishment more striking, he was appointed to be led to execution, the day on which one of the most solemn Roman festivals was celebrated. It is related, that when he had at length overcome the affectionate entreaties of his friends, to permit their exertions for his escape, "he knelt down with them, and prayed to the Son of God in behalf of the churches, that he would put a stop to the persecution, and continue the love of the brethren to each other." He was then led into the Amphitheatre, and soon exposed to the wild beasts. The wish he so ardently expressed, that the lions might become his sepulchre, was granted, for no remains were left, save a few bones, which were carefully gathered up by his friends, and conveyed to Antioch.

The year in which Ignatius glorified God by his death, is not exactly ascertained, but is generally supposed to have taken place in the year of our Lord 107.

SYMPHOROSA, a widow, and her seven sons, were commanded by Trajan to sacrifice to the heathen deities. Refusing to comply with the impious request, the emperor, greatly exasperated, ordered her to be carried to the temple of Hercules, where she was scourged, and hung up for some time by the hair of her head: then a large stone was fastened to her neck, and she was thrown into the river. Her sons were fastened to seven posts, and being drawn up by pulleys, their limbs were dislocated; these tortures not affecting their resolution, they

were thus martyred. Crescentius, the eldest, was stabbed in the throat; Julian, the second, in the breast; Nemesius, the third, in the heart; Primitius, the fourth, in the navel; Justice, the fifth, in the back; Stacteus, the sixth, in the side; and Eugenius, the youngest, was sawed asunder.

About this time Alexander, bishop of Rome, after filling that office ten years, was martyred, as were his two deacons; and also Quirinus and Hermes, with their families; Zenon, a Roman nobleman, and about ten thousand other Christians.

Many were crucified in Mount Ararat, crowned with thorns, and spears run into their sides, in imitation of Christ's passion. Eustachius, a brave and successful Roman commander, was ordered by the emperor to join in an idolatrous sacrifice, to celebrate some of his own victories; but his faith was so great, that he nobly refused it. Enraged at the denial, the ungrateful emperor forgot the services of this skilful commander, and ordered him and his whole family to be martyred.

During the martyrdom of Faustines and Jovita, brothers and citizens of Bressia, their torments were so many, and their patience so great, that Calocerius, a pagan, beholding them, was struck with admiration, and exclaimed, in a kind of ecstasy, "Great is the God of the Christians!" for which he was apprehended and put to death.

Many other cruelties and rigours were exercised against the Christians, till Quadratus, bishop of Athens, made a learned apology in their favour before the emperor, who happened to be there; and Aristides, a philosopher of the same city, wrote an elegant epistle, which caused Adrian to relax in his severities, and relent in their favour. He indeed went so far as to command, that no Christian should be punished on the score of

religion or opinion only; but this gave other handles against them to the Jews and pagans, for then they began to employ and suborn false witnesses, to accuse them of crimes against the state or civil authority.

THE FOURTH PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION, UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS, WHICH COMMENCED A. D. 162.

ANTONINUS PIUS was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Verus, who began the fourth persecution, in which many Christians were martyred, particularly in several parts of Asia, and in France. Such were the cruelties used in this persecution, that many of the spectators shuddered with horror at the sight, and were astonished at the intrepidity of the sufferers. Some of the martyrs were obliged to pass, with their already wounded feet, over thorns, nails, sharp shells, &c. others were scourged till their sinews and veins lay bare; and after suffering the most excruciating tortures, they were destroyed by the most terrible deaths.

GERMANICUS, a young and true Christian, being delivered to the wild beasts on account of his faith, behaved with such astonishing courage, that several pagans became converts to a faith which inspired such fortitude. This enraged others so much, that they cried out, he merited death; and many of the multitude wondering at this beloved martyr for his constancy and virtue, began suddenly to cry with a loud voice, saying, "Destroy the wicked men, let Polycarpus be sought for." And whilst a great uproar and tumult began to be raised upon those cries, a certain Phrygian, named Quintus, lately arrived from his country, was so afflicted at the

sight of the wild beasts, that he rushed to the judgment-seat and upbraided the judges, for which he was put to death.

POLYCARP.

Ecclesiastical history does not acquaint us with the names of Polycarp's parents, nor in what part of the east he was born. It is said that he was educated at the expense of Callista, a noble matron, who redeemed him from slavery. With Ignatius, he was a disciple of the apostle John, who, after the death of Bucolus, bishop of Smyrna, ordained him his successor. The learned Usher has endeavoured to prove that Polycarp was the angel of the church at Smyrna, who was addressed by our Lord in the book of Revelations. If this be the case, what higher testimony can be afforded to the spiritual attainments of this illustrious martyr! "I know thy works," says our Saviour, "and tribulation, and poverty, (but thou art rich;) and I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan. Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer; behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried, and ye shall have tribulation ten days; be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

The only objection to this, is the long period during which Polycarp must have presided over the church at Smyrna; the book of Revelations having been written during the reign of Domitian, and the martyrdom of Polycarp not having taken place until the persecution under Marcus Aurelius.

This difficulty, however, may be obviated by remembering the great age of the martyr at the time of his

death. How highly he was esteemed by Ignatius, may be seen from the life and writings of the latter. Nothing is recorded of Polycarp for many years after the death of his friend, until some disputes having arisen concerning the time for observing Easter, he went to Rome, and held a conference with Anicetus, the bishop of that city. Although both parties continued to observe their own customs, this difference of opinion caused no diminution of the friendship these holy men entertained for each other. Their conduct on this occasion should afford a useful lesson to all who, engaged in controversy, harshly condemn those who differ from them in matters not connected with the vital truths of the gospel. While Polycarp remained at Rome, he diligently exerted himself to reclaim those who had been led astray by the heresies of Marcion. An anecdote related of him by St. Jerome, shows how much he abhorred the doctrine taught by the Docetæ. Marcion, having met Polycarp one day in the street, and being offended that the venerable bishop did not notice him, exclaimed, "Do you not know me, Polycarp?" "Yes," answered the latter, "for the first born of Satan." We shall add to this another testimony of his zeal to preserve the purity of the faith, given by one of his most eminent disciples. When Flavius, who had often visited Polycarp, broached certain heresies, Irenæus wrote to him as follows:—"These things were not taught you by the bishop who preceded us. I could tell you the place where the blessed Polycarp sat to preach the word of God. It is yet present to my mind with what gravity he every where came in and went out; what was the sanction of his deportment, the majesty of his countenance, and of his whole external appearance, and what were his holy exhortations to the people, I seem to hear him now

relate how he conversed with John, and many others who had seen our Lord Jesus Christ. I can protest before God, that if this holy bishop had heard of any error like yours, he would have immediately stopped his ears, and that very instant he would have fled out of the place in which he had heard such doctrine."

The manner in which Polycarp treated Marcion, may appear harsh to some; but before they presume to judge, they would do well to consider the case. The heretical sect to which Marcion belonged, not only rejected the Scriptures of the New Testament, but denied that our Saviour had a real body. To heresies which, like this, tended to overthrow the leading doctrines of Christianity, no toleration could be granted; and those who persisted in maintaining them, after the first and second admonition, Paul had commanded the brethren "to reject." The incarnation of our Lord was regarded by the apostles, and their successors, as a doctrine of the first importance. "Great is the mystery of godliness," says Paul, "God manifest in the flesh;" and John declares, that "every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God. And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God; and is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come, and even now already is it in the world."

None of Polycarp's writings are now extant, with the exception of his epistle to the Philippians, in which the truly Christian spirit of love is beautifully displayed. "I rejoice greatly in our Lord Jesus Christ," writes he, "that ye entertained the patterns of true love, and (as became you) conducted onwards those who were bound with chains, which are the ornaments of the saints, and the crowns of those who are the truly elect of God,

and of our Lord; and that the firm root of your faith, formerly published, does yet remain, and bring forth in our Lord Jesus Christ, who was pleased to offer up himself, even unto death for our sins; whom God raised up, having loosed the pains of death; whom having not seen ye love, in whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory: whereunto many desire to enter, knowing that by grace ye are saved, not by works, but by the will of God, through Jesus Christ. Wherefore, girding up your loins, serve God in fear and truth, forsaking empty and vain talking, and the error wherein so many are involved, believing in him who raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave him glory, and a throne at his right hand; to whom all things, both in heaven and earth are put in subjection, whom every thing that has breath worships, who comes to judge the quick and the dead, whose blood God will require of them that believe not in him. But he who raised him up from the dead, will raise us up also if we do his will, and walk in his commandments, and love what he loved, abstaining from all unrighteousness and inordinate desire, covetousness, detraction, false-witness; not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing, or striking for striking, or cursing for cursing, but remembering what the Lord said when he taught them, "judge not that ye be not judged, forgive and ye shall be forgiven."—"Let the presbyters be tender and merciful, compassionate towards all, reclaiming those that are in error, visiting all that are weak, not negligent of the widow, and the orphan, and him that is poor; but ever providing what is honest in the sight of God and men, abstaining from all wrath, respect of persons, and unrighteous judgments, being far from covetousness, not harshly be-

lieving a report against any man, nor rigid in judgment, knowing that we are all faulty, and obnoxious to punishment. If, therefore, we stand in need to pray to the Lord that he would forgive us, we ourselves ought also to forgive. For we are before the eyes of him who is Lord and God, and all must stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. Let us unweariedly and constantly adhere to Jesus Christ who is our hope and the pledge of our righteousness, who bare our sins in his own body on the tree, who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth, but endured all things for our sakes, that we might live through him. I exhort you, therefore, all, that ye be obedient to the word of righteousness, and that ye exercise all manner of patience, as ye have seen it displayed before your eyes, not only in the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but in others also among you, and in Paul himself, and the rest of the apostles; being assured that all these have not run in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and are arrived at the place due and promised to them by our Lord, of whose sufferings they were made partakers. For they loved not this present world, but him who both died and was raised up again by God for us. Stand fast, therefore, in these things, and follow the example of the Lord, being firm and immutable in the faith, lovers of the brethren, and kindly affectionate towards each other, united in the truth, carrying yourselves meekly one to another, despising no man." After expressing his hope that the Philip-pians are well exercised in the holy Scriptures, he exhorts them to pray for all saints. "Pray also for all kings, magistrates, and princes, and even for them that hate and persecute you, and for the enemies of the cross, that your fruit may be manifested in all, that you may be complete in him."

During the reign of Antoninus Pius, the church enjoyed comparative peace. Several edicts had been published by that amiable prince, forbidding the Christians to be accused "merely as such." The sentiments expressed by him in the edict sent to the common council of Asia, are highly honourable to his character. "I am quite of opinion," says he, "that the gods will take care to discover such persons. For it much more concerns them to punish those who refuse to worship them than you, if they be able. But you harass and vex the Christians, and accuse them of atheism and other crimes which you can by no means prove." Again, "If any person will still persist in accusing the Christians, merely as such, let the accused be acquitted, though he appear to be a Christian; and let the accuser be punished." The same candour and moderation towards the followers of Jesus were not displayed by Marcus Aurelius, the successor of Pius. Like Trajan, this prince was just and beneficent to the rest of his subjects; but, like him, he was an implacable enemy to the Christian name. Soon after his accession a persecution was commenced, which continued with little intermission during his reign. Among those who fell victims to it was Polycarp. Equally distinguished with Ignatius for love to his Saviour, he displayed a zeal more according to knowledge. Instead of disregarding the wishes of his friends, who were anxious to detain him a little longer among them, he yielded to their persuasions, and withdrew to a village at no great distance from the city, when his persecutors demanded his blood. There he employed himself in praying for the peace and safety of the church throughout the world.

When his retreat was discovered by his enemies, he retired to another village, where he was betrayed by

one of his own household, who had been put to the torture.

Information of this being brought to him, he might yet have made his escape, but he refused, saying, "the will of the Lord be done." On being told of the arrival of those who were in search of him, the aged saint advanced to meet them with a cheerful countenance. His venerable appearance, and placid demeanour, inspired his enemies with involuntary respect; several of them exclaimed, "Is it worth while to apprehend so aged a person?" Polycarp having ordered food to be set before them, invited them to be partakers of it, and requested their permission to devote an hour to prayer. This being granted, he offered up his petitions with such zeal and fervency for the space of two hours, that the fierceness of his persecutors was in some degree subdued; and they even repented that they had come to seize him. His devotions being concluded, and the time of his departure arrived, he was set upon an ass, and conducted towards the city. On the way he was met by Herod, and his father Nicetas, who had been the chief promoters of this persecution. These cruel and deceitful men having taken the martyr into their chariot, endeavoured by every plausible means to shake his constancy. "What harm can there be," said they, "to give Cæsar the title of Lord, and to offer sacrifice?" This was the usual method employed in trying the faith of the Christians. To obey the emperor as their sovereign, they were ever ready and willing; to acknowledge him as their earthly master, they hesitated not: but the Romans by the title Lord understood God; and the followers of Christ confessed none save Jehovah. Polycarp at first, like his Redeemer, when before Pontius Pilate, maintained a dignified silence; but on being

urged to comply with their demand, he decidedly refused. Enraged at his firmness, they threw aside the mask of friendship, and after loading him with reproaches, they threw him out of the chariot with such violence, that he was severely bruised by the fall. Unmoved by their brutal treatment, he rose, as if he had not been injured, and under the conduct of his guards, he hastened to the place of execution. When brought before the tribunal, a loud shout was raised by the multitude, who rejoiced at his apprehension. The proconsul having first asked him if he was Polycarp, he calmly answered in the affirmative; but when the former pressed him to swear by the genius of the emperor, and say "take away the Atheists;" he looked round the stadium with a grave and severe aspect, then waving his hand to the crowd, and raising his eyes to heaven; he said, (though with a different meaning from theirs,) "take away the Atheists." The proconsul still continuing to persuade him to swear, and promising to release him if he would blaspheme Christ, Polycarp replied with a just and holy indignation, "Eighty and six years have I served him, and he never injured me, how then shall I blaspheme my Saviour and my king?" Not satisfied with this confession, the proconsul renewed his importunities, and besought him to swear by the genius of the emperor. "Since you are so vainly ambitious," said the martyr, "that I should swear by the genius of the emperor, as you call it, affecting ignorance of my real character, hear my free confession. I am a Christian. If you desire to learn the Christian religion, appoint me a day, and I will instruct you in it." Persuade the people, said the proconsul. "I rather choose to address myself to you," answered Polycarp, "for we are commanded by the laws of our holy religion, to

give to princes and the powers ordained of God all that due honour and reverence which is not prejudicial and contrary to the precepts of religion."

When the proconsul saw that his entreaties were ineffectual, he had recourse to threats. "I have wild beasts," said he, "to which I will expose you, unless you repent." "Call for them," replied Polycarp, "for I am unalterably resolved not to change from good to evil. It is only good to pass from evil to good." "Since you despise the wild beasts," said the proconsul, "your spirit shall be tamed by fire." "You threaten me with fire," answered Polycarp, "which burns for a moment, and will be soon extinguished; but, alas! you are ignorant of the judgment to come, and of the fire of everlasting torments reserved for the ungodly. But why do you delay! bring against me what you please." While the martyr spoke these words, the heavenly confidence and joy which shone in his face, astonished and embarrassed the proconsul. He however sent the herald to proclaim in the middle of the stadium, according to the custom of the Romans, "Polycarp hath confessed himself a Christian." Both Jews and Gentiles uttered a loud shout, when they heard this proclamation, the latter exclaiming, "This is the great doctor of Asia, the father of the Christians; this is the destroyer of our gods, who hath taught men not to offer sacrifice, nor to worship them." Philip the Asiarch, was then requested to let loose a lion against Polycarp. This he refused, because the shows of the wild beasts were finished. They then demanded that he should be burned alive, and on their request being granted, they hastened to the baths and shops, to bring fuel. In this employment the Jews were particularly active, so eager were they on every occasion to manifest their malevolence and hatred

to the Christian name. Every thing being now prepared, Polycarp untied his girdle, laid aside his garments, and put off his shoes. To these offices he had seldom been accustomed; for the younger Christians, to show their love and respect, had delighted to perform them. His executioners approaching to fasten him to the stake, he forbade them, saying, "Suffer me to remain as I am, for he who giveth me strength to endure the fire, will enable me also to stand immovable in the hottest flames." He was therefore bound, without being nailed; and standing in this posture, "like a sheep ready for the slaughter," he offered up the following prayer: "O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy well beloved Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the knowledge of thee, the God of angels, powers, and of every creature, and of the whole race of the righteous, who live before thee, I bless thee that thou hast graciously condescended to bring me to this day and hour, that I may receive a portion in the number of thy holy martyrs, and drink of Christ's cup, for the resurrection to eternal life, both of soul and body, in the incorruptibleness of thy Holy Spirit. Into which number grant that I may be received this day, being found in thy sight as a fair and acceptable sacrifice, such a one as thou thyself hast prepared, that so thou mayest accomplish what thou, O true and faithful God, hast foreshown. Wherefore I praise thee for all thy mercies; I bless thee, I glorify thee, through the Eternal High Priest, thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, with whom, to thyself and the Holy Ghost, be glory, now and for ever, Amen.

FELICITAS, an illustrious Roman lady of a considerable family, and great virtues, was a devout Christian. She had seven sons, whom she had educated with

the most exemplary piety. The empire having been about this time grievously troubled with earthquakes, famine, inundations, &c. the Christians were accused as the cause, and Felicitas was included in the accusation. The lady and her family being seized, the emperor gave orders to Publius, the Roman governor, to proceed against her. Upon this Publius began with the mother, thinking that if he could prevail with her to change her religion, the example would have great influence with her sons. Finding her inflexible, he turned his entreaties to menaces, and threatened her with destruction to herself and family. She despised his threats as she had done his promises; he then caused her sons to be brought before him, whom he examined separately. They all, however, remained steadfast in their faith, and unanimous in their opinions, on which the whole family were ordered for execution. Januarius, the eldest, was scourged and pressed to death with weights; Felix and Philip, the two next, had their brains dashed out with clubs; Sylvanus, the fourth, was murdered by being thrown from a precipice; and the three younger sons, viz. Alexander, Vitalis, and Martialis, were all beheaded. The mother was beheaded with the same sword as the three latter.

PERSECUTIONS IN FRANCE.

Here all manner of punishments were adopted, torments, and painful deaths; such as being banished, plundered, hanged, burnt, &c.; and even the servants and slaves of opulent Christians were racked and tortured, to make them accuse their masters and employers. The following were the principal of these martyrs: Vetius

Agathus, a young man, who having pleaded the Christian cause, was asked if he was a Christian; to which answering in the affirmative, he was condemned to death. Many, animated by this young man's intrepidity, boldly owned their faith, and suffered likewise. Blandinia, a Christian, but of a weak constitution, being seized and tortured on account of her religion, received so much strength from heaven, that her torturers became tired frequently, and were surprised at her being able to bear her torments for so great a length of time, and with such resolution. Sanctus, a deacon of Vienne, was put to the tortures, which he bore with great fortitude, and only cried, "I am a Christian." Red hot plates of brass were placed upon those parts of the body that were tenderest, which contracted the sinews; but he remaining inflexible, was re-conducted to prison. Being brought out from his place of confinement a few days afterwards, his tormentors were astonished to find his wounds healed, and his person perfect; they, however, again proceeded to torture him; but not being able at that time, to take his life, they remanded him to prison, where he remained for some time after, and was at length beheaded. Biblides, a weak woman, had been an apostate, but having returned to the faith, was martyred, and bore her sufferings with great patience. Attalus, of Pergamus, was another sufferer; and Pothinus, the venerable bishop of Lyons, who was ninety years of age, was so treated by the enraged mob, that he expired two days after in the prison.

At Lyons, exclusive of those already mentioned, the martyrs were compelled to sit in red hot iron chairs till their flesh broiled. This was inflicted with peculiar severity on Sanctus, already mentioned, and some others. Some were sewed up in nets, and thrown on the horns

of wild bulls; and the carcasses of those who died in prison, previous to the appointed time of execution, were thrown to dogs. Indeed, so far did the malice of the pagans proceed, that they set guards over the bodies while the beasts were devouring them, lest the friends of the deceased should get them by stealth; and the offals left by the dogs were ordered to be burnt.

The martyrs of Lyons are said to have been forty-eight in number, and their executions happened in the year of Christ 177. They all died with great fortitude.

In the year 180 the emperor Antoninus died, and was succeeded by his son Commodus, who did not imitate his father in any respect. He had neither his virtues nor his vices; he was without his learning and his morality, and, at the same time, without his prejudices against Christianity. His principal weakness was pride, and to that may be chiefly ascribed the errors of his reign; for having fancied himself Hercules, he sacrificed those to his vanity, who refused to subscribe to his absurd opinion.

In this reign Appolonius, a Roman senator, became a martyr. This eminent person was skilled in all the polite literature of those times, and in all the purest precepts taught by our blessed Redeemer. He was accused by his own slave Severus, upon an unjust and contradictory, but unrepealed edict, of the emperor Trajan. This law condemned the accused to die, unless he recanted his opinion; and, at the same time, ordered the execution of the accuser for slander. Apollonius, upon this ridiculous statute, was accused; for though his slave, Severus, knew he must die for the accusation, yet such was his diabolical malice and desire of revenge, that he courted death in order to involve his master in the same destruction. As Apollonius refused to recant his opinions,

he was, by order of the Roman senators, to whom he had appealed, condemned to be beheaded. The sentence was executed on the 18th of April, A. D. 186, his accuser having previously had his legs broken, and been put to death.

Julius, a Roman senator, becoming a convert to Christianity, was ordered, by the emperor, to sacrifice to him as Hercules. This Julius absolutely refused and publicly professed himself a Christian. On this account, after remaining in prison a considerable time, he was, in the year 190, pursuant to his sentence, beat to death with cudgels.

THE FIFTH GENERAL PERSECUTION, UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

The emperor Commodus dying in the year 191, was succeeded by Pertinax, and he by Julianus, both of whom reigned but a short time. On the death of the last, Severus became emperor in the year 192. When he had been recovered from a severe fit of sickness by a Christian, he became a great favourer of Christians in general; and even permitted his son Caracalla to be nursed by a female of that persuasion. Hence, during the reigns of the emperors already mentioned, who successively succeeded Commodus, and some years of the latter's reign, the Christians had a respite for several years from persecution. But the prejudice and fury of the ignorant multitude again prevailed, and the obsolete laws were put in execution against the Christians. The pagans were alarmed at the progress of Christianity, and revived the calumny of placing accidental misfortunes to the account of its professors. Fire, sword, wild beasts, and imprison-

ments, were resorted to; and even the dead bodies of Christians were torn from their graves, and subjected to every insult; yet the gospel withstood the attacks of its boisterous enemies. Tertullian, who lived in this age, informs us, that if the Christians had collectively withdrawn themselves from the Roman territories, the empire would have been greatly depopulated.

Victor, bishop of Rome, suffered martyrdom in the first year of the third century, viz. A. D. 201, though the circumstances are not ascertained.

Leonidas, the father of the celebrated Origen, was beheaded for being a Christian. Previous to the execution, the son, in order to encourage him, wrote to him in these remarkable words: "Beware, sir, that your care for us does not make you change your resolution." Many of Origen's hearers likewise suffered martyrdom; particularly two brothers, named Plutarchus and Serenus: another Serenus, Heron, and Heraclides, were beheaded; Rhais had boiling pitch poured upon her head, and was then burnt, as was Marcella her mother.

Irennæus, bishop of Lyons, was born in Greece, and received a Christian education. It is generally supposed that the account of the persecutions at Lyons was written by himself. He succeeded the martyr Pothinus as bishop of Lyons, and ruled his diocese with great propriety: he was a zealous opposer of heresies in general, and wrote a celebrated tract against heresy about A. D. 187.

PERSECUTIONS IN AFRICA.

The persecutions about this time extended to Africa, and many were martyred in that part of the globe; the most particular of whom were Perpetua, a married lady

of about twenty-six years of age, with a young child at her breast; she was seized upon for being a Christian. Her father, who tenderly loved her, went to console her during her confinement, and attempted to persuade her to renounce Christianity. Perpetua, however, resisted every entreaty. This resolution so much incensed her father, that he beat her severely, and did not visit her for some days after; and, in the mean time, she, and some others who were confined, were baptized, as they were before only catechumens.

On being carried before the proconsul Minutius, she was commanded to sacrifice to the idols; but refusing, she was ordered to a dark dungeon, and was deprived of her child. Two deacons, however, Tertius and Pomponius, who had the care of persecuted Christians, allowed her some hours daily to inhale the fresh air, during which time she had the satisfaction of being allowed to suckle her child. Foreseeing, however, that she should not long be permitted to take care of it, she recommended it strongly to her mother's attention. Her father at length paid her a second visit, and again entreated her to renounce Christianity. His behaviour was now all tenderness and humanity; but inflexible to all things but Christ, she knew she must leave every thing for his sake; and she only said to him, "God's will be done." He then, with an almost bursting heart, left her.

Perpetua gave the strongest proof of fortitude and strength of mind on her trial. The judge entreated her to consider her father's tears, her infant's helplessness, and her own life; but triumphing over the softer sentiments of nature, she forgot the ideas of both mental and corporeal pain, and determined to sacrifice all the feelings of human sensibility, to that immortality offered

by Christ. In vain did they attempt to persuade her that their offers were gentle, and her own religion otherwise. Aware that she must die, her father's parental tenderness returned, and in his anxiety he attempted to carry her off, on which he received a severe blow from one of the officers. Irritated at this, the daughter immediately declared, that she felt that blow more severely than if she had received it herself. Being conducted back to prison, she awaited her execution with several other persons, who were to be executed at the same time. The procurator, when he examined her, entreated her to have pity upon herself and her condition; but she replied, that his compassion was useless, for no thought of self-preservation could induce her to submit to any idolatrous proposition.

Revocatus was a catechumen of Carthage, and a slave. The names of the other prisoners, who were to suffer upon this occasion, were Satur, Saturnius, and Secundulus. When the day of execution arrived, they were led to the amphitheatre. Satur, Saturnius, and Revocatus, having the fortitude to denounce God's judgments upon their persecutors, were ordered to run the gauntlet between the hunters, or such as had the care of the wild beasts. The hunters being drawn up in two ranks, they ran between, and as they passed, they were severely lashed. Felicitas and Perpetua were stripped, in order to be thrown to a mad bull; but some of the spectators, through decency, desired that they might be permitted to put on their clothes, which request was granted. The bull made his first attack upon Perpetua, and stunned her: he then attacked Felicitas, and wounded her much; but not killing them, the executioner did that office with a sword. Revocatus and Satur were destroyed by wild beasts; Saturnius was beheaded; and Secundulus died

in prison. These executions took place on the 8th of March, A. D. 205.

THE SIXTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

Maximus, who was emperor in A. D. 235, raised a persecution against the Christians; and in Cappadocia, the president Semiramus made great efforts to exterminate the Christians from that kingdom. A Roman soldier who refused to wear a laurel crown bestowed on him by the emperor, and confessed himself a Christian, was scourged, imprisoned, and put to death. Pontianus, bishop of Rome, for preaching against idolatry, was banished to Sardinia, and there destroyed. Anteros, a Grecian, who succeeded this bishop in the see of Rome, gave so much offence to the government by collecting the acts of the martyrs, that, after having held his dignity only forty days, he suffered martyrdom himself. Pammachius, a Roman senator, with his family and other Christians, to the number of forty-two, were, on account of their religion, all beheaded in one day, and their heads set up on the city gates. Simplicius, another senator, suffered martyrdom in a similar way. Calepodius, a Christian minister, after being inhumanly treated, and barbarously dragged about the streets, was thrown into the river Tiber with a mill-stone fastened about his neck. Quiritus, a Roman nobleman, with his family and domestics, were, on account of their Christian principles, put to most excruciating tortures, and painful deaths. Martina, a noble and beautiful virgin, suffered martyrdom, being variously tortured, and afterwards beheaded; and Hippolitus, a Christian prelate, was tied to

a wild horse, and dragged through fields, stony places, bushes, &c. till he died.

While this persecution continued, numerous Christians were slain without trial, and buried indiscriminately in heaps; sometimes fifty or sixty being cast into a pit together. Maximus died in A. D. 238; he was succeeded by Gordian, during whose reign, and that of his successor Philip, the church was free from persecution for the space of more than ten years; but in the year 249, a violent persecution broke out in Alexandria. It is, however, worthy of remark, that this was done at the instigation of a pagan priest, without the emperor's privity. At this time the fury of the people being great against the Christians, the mob broke open their houses, carried away the best of their property, destroyed the rest, and murdered the owners; the universal cry being, "Burn them, burn them! kill them, kill them!" The names of the martyrs have not been recorded; with the exception of the three following: Metrus, an aged and venerable Christian, who refusing to blaspheme his Saviour, was beaten with clubs, pricked with sharp reeds, and at length stoned to death. Quinta, a Christian woman, being carried to the temple, and refusing to worship the idols there, was dragged by her feet over sharp flint stones, scourged with whips, and at last despatched in the same manner as Metrus. And Apollonia, an ancient maiden lady, confessing herself a Christian, the mob dashed out her teeth with their fists, and threatened to burn her alive. A fire was accordingly prepared for the purpose, and she fastened to a stake; but requesting to be unloosed, it was granted, on a supposition that she meant to recant, when, to their astonishment, she immediately threw herself into the flames, and was consumed.

THE SEVENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

In the year 249, Decius being emperor of Rome, a dreadful persecution was begun against the Christians. This was occasioned partly by the hatred he bore to his predecessor Philip, who was deemed a Christian, and partly to his jealousy concerning the amazing increase of Christianity; for the heathen temples were almost forsaken, and the Christian churches crowded with proselytes. Decius, provoked at this, attempted, as it were, to extirpate the name of Christian; and, unfortunately for the cause of the gospel, many errors had, about this time, crept into the church; the Christians were at variance with each other; and a variety of contentions ensued amongst them. The heathens, in general, were ambitious to enforce the imperial decrees upon this occasion, and looked upon the murder of a Christian as a merit to themselves. The martyrs were, therefore, innumerable.

MARTYRDOM OF FABIAN, AND OTHERS.

Fabian, bishop of Rome, was the first person of eminence who felt the severity of this persecution. The deceased emperor, Philip, had, on account of his integrity, committed his treasure to the care of this good man; but Decius, not finding as much as his avarice made him expect, determined to wreak his vengeance on the good prelate. He was accordingly seized: and on the 20th of January, A. D. 250, suffered martyrdom, by decapitation. Abdon and Semen, two Persians, were seized on as strangers; but being found Christians, were

put to death on account of their faith; and **Moyse**s, a priest, was beheaded for the same reason.

Julian, a native of Cilicia, as we are informed by **St. Chrysostom**, was seized upon for being a Christian. He was frequently tortured, but still remained inflexible; and though often brought from prison for execution, was again remanded, to suffer greater cruelties. He, at length, was obliged to travel for twelve months together, from town to town, in order to be exposed to the insults of the populace. When all endeavours to make him recant his religion were found ineffectual, he was brought before his judge, stripped, and whipped in a dreadful manner. He was then put into a leather bag, together with a number of serpents, scorpions, &c. and in that condition thrown into the sea.

Peter, a young man, amiable for the superior qualities of his body and mind, was apprehended as a Christian, at **Lampsacus**, and carried before **Optimus**, proconsul of Asia. On being commanded to sacrifice to **Venus**, he said "I am astonished that you should wish me to sacrifice to an infamous woman, whose debaucheries even your own historians record, and whose life consisted of such actions as your laws would punish. No! I shall offer to the true God the sacrifice of prayer and praise."

Optimus, on hearing this, ordered him to be stretched upon a wheel, by which all his bones were broken in a shocking manner; but his torments only inspired him with fresh courage; he smiled upon his persecutors, and seemed, by the serenity of his countenance, not to upbraid, but to applaud his tormentors. At length, the proconsul commanded him to be beheaded; which was immediately executed.

Lucian and **Marcian**, two pagans, and magicians, becoming converts to Christianity; to make amends for

their former errors, lived the lives of hermits, and subsisted on bread and water. After spending some time in this manner, they reflected that their lives were inefficacious, and determined to leave their solitude in order to make converts to Christianity. With this pious and laudable resolution they became zealous preachers. The persecution, however, raging at this time, they were seized upon and carried before Sabinus, the governor of Bithynia. On being asked by what authority they took upon themselves to preach, Lucian answered, "That the laws of charity and humanity obliged all men to endeavour to convert their neighbours, and to do every thing in their power to rescue them from the snares of the devil." Marcian also said, that "Their conversion was by the same grace which was given to St. Paul, who from a zealous persecutor of the church, became a preacher of the gospel." When the proconsul found that he could not prevail on them to renounce their faith, he condemned them to be burnt alive, which sentence was executed soon after.

Trypho and Respicus, two eminent men, were seized as Christians, and imprisoned at Nice. They were soon after put to the rack, which they bore with admirable patience for three hours, and uttered the praises of the Almighty the whole time. They were then exposed naked in the open air, which benumbed all their limbs. When remanded to prison, they remained there for a considerable time; and then the cruelties of their persecutors were again evinced. Their feet were pierced with nails; they were dragged through the streets, scourged, torn with iron hooks, scorched with lighted torches, and at length beheaded, on the 1st of February, A. D. 251.

PERSECUTIONS IN CRETE.

At the Island of Crete, the persecution raged with fury; for the governor being exceedingly active in executing the imperial decrees, that place streamed with the blood of many Christians. The principal Cretan martyrs, whose names have been transmitted to us, are as follow: Theodulus, Saturnius, and Europus, were inhabitants of Gortyna, who had been grounded in their faith by Cyril, bishop of that city; and Eunicianus, Zeticus, Cleomenus, Agathopas, Bastides, and Euaristus, were brought from different parts of the island on accusations of professing Christianity.

At the time of their trial, they were commanded to sacrifice to Jupiter, which declining, the judge threatened them with the severest tortures. To these menaces they unanimously answered, "That to suffer for the sake of the Supreme Being, would, to them, be the sublimest of pleasures." The judge then attempted to gain their veneration for the heathen deities, by descending on their merits, and recounting some of their mythological histories. This gave the prisoners an opportunity of remarking on the absurdity of such fictions, and of pointing out the folly of paying adoration to ideal deities, and real images. Provoked to hear his favourite idols ridiculed, the governor ordered them all to be put to the rack; the tortures of which they sustained with surprising fortitude. They at length suffered martyrdom, A. D. 251; being all beheaded at the same time.

MARTYRDOM OF BABYLAS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH, AND OTHERS.

Babylas, a Christian of a liberal education, became bishop of Antioch in A. D. 237, on the demise of Ze-

binus. He governed the church during those tempestuous times with admirable zeal and prudence. The first misfortune that happened to Antioch during his mission, was the siege of it by Sapor, king of Persia; who, having overrun all Syria, took and plundered this city among others, and used the Christian inhabitants with greater severity than the rest. His cruelties, however, were not lasting, for Gordian, the emperor, appearing at the head of a powerful army, Antioch was retaken, the Persians driven entirely out of Syria, pursued into their own country, and several places in the Persian territories fell into the hands of the emperor. On Gordian's death, in the reign of Decius, that emperor came to Antioch, where, having a desire to visit an assembly of Christians, Babylas opposed him, and refused to let him come in. The emperor dissembled his anger at that time; but soon sending for the bishop, he sharply reproved him for his insolence, and then ordered him to sacrifice to the pagan deities as an expiation for his supposed crime. Having refused this, he was committed to prison, loaded with chains, treated with great severities, and then beheaded, together with three young men who had been his pupils. On going to the place of execution, the bishop exclaimed, "Behold me and the children that the Lord hath given me." They were martyred, A. D. 251; and the chains worn by the bishop in prison were buried with him.

Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, about this time was cast into prison on account of his religion, where he died through the severity of his confinement; or, as some assert, was burned to death, with several other Christians in a furnace.

When Serapion was apprehended at Alexandria, he had all his bones broken, and was then thrown from a

high loft, when he was killed by the fall. Julianus, an old man, lame with the gout, and Cronion, another Christian, were bound on the backs of camels, severely scourged, and then thrown into a fire and consumed. A spectator, who seemed to commiserate them, was ordered to be beheaded, as a punishment for his sentiments of tenderness. Macar, a Libyan Christian was burnt. Horon-Ater and Isodorus, Egyptians, with Dioschorus, a boy of fifteen, after suffering many other torments, met with a similar fate; and Nemesion, another Egyptian, was first tried as a thief; but being acquitted, was accused of Christianity, which confessing, he was scourged, tortured, and finally burnt. Ischyrian, the Christian servant of an Egyptian nobleman, was run through with a pike by his own master, for refusing to sacrifice to idols; Venatius, a youth of fifteen, was martyred in Italy, and forty virgins, at Antioch, after being imprisoned and scourged, were destroyed by fire.

The emperor Decius having erected a pagan temple at Ephesus, in the year 251, he commanded all who were in that city to sacrifice to the idols. This order was nobly refused by seven of his own soldiers, viz. Maximianus, Martianus, Joannes, Malchus, Dionysius, Constantinus, and Seraion. The emperor, wishing to prevail on the soldiers to prevent their fate by his entreaties and lenity, gave them a respite till he returned from a journey. But in the absence of the emperor, they escaped, and hid themselves in a cavern; which he being informed of at his return, the mouth of the cavern was closed up, and they were all starved to death.

THE EIGHTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

After the death of Gallus, Æmilian, the general, having many enemies in the army, was slain, and Valerian elected to the empire. This emperor, for the space of four years, governed with moderation, and treated the Christians with peculiar lenity and respect; but in the year 257, an Egyptian magician, named Macrianus, gained a great ascendancy over him, and persuaded him to persecute them. Edicts were accordingly published, and the persecution, which began in the month of April, continued for three years and six months.

The martyrs that fell in this persecution were innumerable, and their tortures and deaths as various. The most eminent were the following:

Rufina and Secunda were two beautiful and accomplished ladies, daughters of Asterius, a gentleman of eminence in Rome. Rufina, the elder, was designed in marriage for Armentarius, a young nobleman: and Secunda, the younger, for Verinus, a person of rank, and immense wealth. These suitors, at the time the persecution commenced, were both Christians; but when danger appeared, to save their fortunes, they renounced their faith. They took great pains to persuade the ladies to do the same, but failed in their purpose; and as a method of safety, Rufina and Secunda left the kingdom. The lovers, finding themselves disappointed, informed against the ladies, who being apprehended as Christians, were brought before Junius Donatus, governor of Rome. After many remonstrances, and having undergone several tortures, they sealed their martyrdom with their blood, by being beheaded in the year 257.

MARTYRDOM OF ST. LAURENCE.

Laurentius, generally called St. Laurence, was first scourged. He was then beaten with iron rods, set upon a wooden horse, and had his limbs dislocated. He endured these tortures with such fortitude and perseverance that he was ordered to be fastened to a large gridiron, with a slow fire under it, that his death might be the more tedious. But his astonishing constancy during these trials, and his serenity of countenance while under such excruciating torments, gave the spectators so exalted an idea of the dignity and truth of the Christian religion, that many immediately became converts.

Having lain for some time upon the gridiron, the martyr called out to the emperor, who was present, in a kind of jocose Latin distich, made extempore, which may be translated thus:

“ This side enough is toasted,
Then turn me, tyrant, and eat;
And see, whether raw or roasted,
I am the better meat.”

On this the executioner turned him, and after having lain a considerable time longer, he had still strength and spirit enough to triumph over the tyrant, by telling him, with great serenity, that he was roasted enough, and only wanted serving up. He then cheerfully lifted up his eyes to heaven, and with calmness yielded his spirit to the Almighty. This happened on August 10, A. D. 258.

Romanus, a soldier, who attended the martyrdom of Laurentius, became one of the converts to his sufferings and fortitude; and when that martyr was remanded to prison, Romanus took the opportunity of fully inquiring

into the nature of the Christian faith; and being entirely satisfied by Laurentius, became firmly a Christian, and received his baptism from the captive. On his sudden change becoming known, he was apprehended, scourged severely, and afterwards beheaded. Hypolitus, another Roman, for the same offence, was seized and suffered a similar fate.

PERSECUTIONS IN AFRICA.—ACCOUNT OF CYPRIAN.

Fourteen years previous to this period the persecution raged in Africa with peculiar violence; and many thousands received the crown of martyrdom, among whom the following were the most distinguished characters:

Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was an eminent prelate, and a pious ornament of the church. His doctrines were orthodox and pure; his language easy and elegant; and his manners graceful. He was said to be so perfect a master of rhetoric and logic, and so complete in the practice of elocution, and the principles of philosophy, that he was made professor of those sciences in his native city of Carthage, where he taught with great success. He was educated in the principles of Gentilism, and having a considerable fortune he lived in great splendour and pomp. Gorgeous in attire, luxurious in feasting, vain of a numerous retinue, and fond of every kind of fashionable parade, he seemed to fancy that man was born to gratify all his appetites, and created for pleasure only. About the year 246, Cœcilius, a Christian minister of Carthage, became the instrument of Cyprian's conversion: on which account, and for the great love that he always afterwards bore for his adviser, he was termed Cœcilius Cyprian.

Before his baptism he studied the scriptures with care, and being struck with the beauties of the truths they contained, he determined to practise the virtues they recommended. He sold his estate, distributed the money among the poor, dressed himself in plain attire, and commenced a life of austerity and solitude. Soon after his baptism he was made a presbyter; and being greatly admired for his virtues and his works, on the death of Donatus, in A. D. 248, he was almost unanimously elected bishop of Carthage. The cure of Cyprian not only extended over Carthage, but to Numidia and Mauritania. In all his transactions he took great care to ask the advice of his clergy, knowing that unanimity alone could be of service to the church: this being one of his maxims, "That the bishop was in the church, and the church in the bishop; so that unity can only be preserved by a close connexion between the pastor and his flock."

In the year 250, he was publicly proscribed by the emperor Decius, under the appellation of Cœcilius Cyprian, bishop of the Christians; and the universal cry of the Pagans, was, "Cyprian to the lions! Cyprian to the beasts!"

The bishop, however, withdrew from the rage of the populace, and his effects were immediately confiscated. During his retirement he wrote thirty pious letters to his flock; but several schisms that then crept into the church gave him great uneasiness. The rigour of the persecution abating, he returned and did every thing in his power to expunge erroneous opinions and false doctrines. A terrible plague now breaking out at Carthage, it was, as usual, laid to the charge of the Christians; and the magistrates began to persecute accordingly, which

occasioned an epistle from them to Cyprian, in answer to which he vindicates the cause of Christianity.

Cyprian was brought before the proconsul Aspasius Paternus, A. D. 257, when being commanded to conform to the religion of the empire, he boldly made a confession of his faith. This, however, did not occasion his death, but an order was made for his banishment, which exiled him to a little city on the Libian sea: On the death of the proconsul who banished him, he returned to Carthage, but was soon after seized, and carried before the new governor, who condemned him to be beheaded: and on the 14th of September, A. D. 258, this sentence was executed.

His disciples who were martyred in this persecution, were, Lucius, Flavian, Victoricus, Remus, Montanus, Donatian, Julian, and Primolus.

MARTYRDOM OF 300 CHRISTIANS.

Perhaps one of the most dreadful events in the history of martyrdom was that which took place at Utica, where 300 Christians were, by the orders of the proconsul, placed around a burning lime-kiln. A pan of coals and incense being prepared, they were commanded either to sacrifice to Jupiter, or be thrown into the kiln. Unanimously refusing they bravely jumped into the pit, and were suffocated immediately.

Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragon, in Spain, and his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, for avowing themselves Christians, were consumed by fire. Malchus, Alexander, and Priscus, three Christians of Palestine, with a woman of the same place, voluntarily accused themselves of being Christians: for which they were sen-

tenced to be devoured by tigers, which sentence was accordingly executed. Donatilla, Maxima, and Secunda, three virgins of Tuburga, had gall and vinegar given them to drink, were then severely scourged, tormented on a gibbet, rubbed with lime, scorched on a gridiron, worried by wild beasts, and at last beheaded.

Pontius, a native of the city of Simela, near the Alps, being apprehended as a Christian, was tortured on the rack, worried by wild beasts, half burnt, then beheaded, and lastly thrown into the river; and Protus and Hyacinthus likewise suffered martyrdom about the same period.

THE NINTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

In the year 274, the emperor Aurelian commenced a persecution against the Christians; the principal of the sufferers was Felix, bishop of Rome. This prelate was advanced to the Roman see in 274, and was beheaded in the same year, on the 22d of December. Agapetus, a young gentleman, who sold his estate, and gave the money to the poor, was seized as a Christian, tortured, and then brought to Præneste, a city within a day's journey of Rome, where he was beheaded. These are the only martyrs left upon record during this reign, as it was soon put a stop to by the emperor being murdered by his own domestics, at Byzantium. Aurelian was succeeded by Tacitus, who was followed by Probus, as was the latter by Carus: this emperor being killed by a thunderstorm, his sons, Carinus and Numerian, succeeded him; and during all these reigns, the church enjoyed rest.

Diocletian mounting the imperial throne, A. D. 284, at first showed great favour to the Christians. In the year 286, he associated Maximian with him in the empire; and the following Christians were put to death before any general persecution broke out: Felician and Primus, two brothers. They were seized by an order from the imperial court; and owning themselves Christians, were accordingly scourged, tortured, and finally beheaded. Marcus and Marcellianus were twins, natives of Rome, and of noble descent. Their parents were heathens, but the tutors to whom the education of the children was intrusted, brought them up as Christians. Being apprehended on account of their faith, they were severely tortured, and then sentenced to be beheaded. A respite of a month was obtained for them by their friends, when their father, mother, and all their relations, attempted to bring them back to paganism, but in vain. At last their constancy subdued their persuaders, and their parents and whole family became converts to a faith they had just before condemned.

Tranquillinus, the father of the two young men, was sent for by the prefect, to give him an account of the success of his endeavours; when he confessed, that so far from having persuaded his sons to forsake the faith they had embraced, he was become a Christian himself. He then stopped till the magistrate had recovered from his surprise, and resuming his discourse, he used such powerful arguments, that he made a convert of him, who soon after sold his estate, resigned his command, and spent the remainder of his days in a pious retirement.

The prefect who succeeded the above-mentioned convert, had nothing of the disposition of his predecessor: he was morose and severe, and soon seized upon the whole of this Christian race, who were accordingly

martyrèd, by being tied to posts, and having their feet pierced with nails. After remaining in this situation for a day and night, their sufferings were put an end to by thrusting lances through their bodies.

Zoe, the wife of the gaoler who had the care of the before-mentioned martyrs, being greatly edified by their discourses, had a desire to become a Christian: this, as she was dumb with a palsy, she could only express by gestures. They gave her instructions in the faith, and told her to pray in her heart to God to relieve her from her disorder. She did so, and was at length relieved: for her paralytic disorder by degrees left her, and her speech returned again. This enforced her belief, and confirmed her a Christian: and her husband, finding her cured, became a convert himself. These conversions made a great noise, and the proselytes were apprehended. Zoe was commanded to sacrifice to Mars, which refusing, she was hanged upon a tree, and a fire of straw lighted under her. When her body was taken down, it was thrown into a river, with a large stone tied to it, in order to sink it.

MASSACRE OF A WHOLE LEGION OF CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS.

A very remarkable affair occurred in A. D. 286. A legion of soldiers, consisting of 6666 men, contained none but Christians. This legion was called the Theban legion, because the men had been raised in Thebais: they were quartered in the East, till the emperor Maximian ordered them to march to Gaul, to assist him against the rebels of Burgundy; when passing the Alps under the command of Mauritius, Candidus, and Exuperis, they at length joined the emperor. About this time,

Maximian ordered a general sacrifice, at which the whole army were to assist; and he commanded, that they should take oaths of allegiance, and swear, at the same time, to assist him in the extirpation of Christianity in Gaul.

Terrified at these orders, each individual of the Theban legion absolutely refused either to sacrifice, or take the oaths prescribed. This so greatly enraged Maximian, that he ordered the legion to be decimated, that is, every tenth man to be selected from the rest, and put to the sword. This cruel order having been put into execution, those who remained alive were still inflexible, when a second decimation took place, and again every tenth man of those living were put to the sword.

But this second severity made no more impression than the first; the soldiers preserved their fortitude, and their principles; but, by the advice of their officers, drew up a remonstrance to the emperor, in which they told him, "that they were his subjects and his soldiers, but could not at the same time forget the Almighty; that they received their pay from him, and their existence from God. While your commands (said they) are not contradictory to those of our common master, we shall always be ready to obey, as we have been hitherto; but when the orders of our prince and those of the Almighty differ, we must always obey the latter. Our arms are devoted to the emperor's use, and shall be directed against his enemies; but we cannot submit to stain our hands with effusion of Christian blood; and how, indeed, could you, O emperor, be sure of our allegiance and fidelity, should we violate our obligation to our God, in whose service we were solemnly engaged before we entered the army? You command us to search out, and to destroy the Christians: it is not necessary to

look any farther for persons of that denomination; we ourselves are such, and we glory in the name. We saw our companions fall without the least opposition or murmuring, and thought them happy in dying for the sake of Christ. Nothing shall make us lift up our hands against our sovereign; we had rather die wrongfully, and by that means preserve our innocence, than live under a load of guilt: whatever you command, we are ready to suffer: we confess ourselves to be Christians, and therefore cannot persecute Christians, nor sacrifice to idols."

Such a declaration, it might be presumed, would have softened the emperor, but it had a contrary effect; for, enraged at their perseverance and unanimity, he commanded that the whole legion should be put to death, which was accordingly executed by the other troops, who cut them to pieces with their swords.

This barbarous transaction happened on the 22d of September, A. D. 286; and such was the inveterate malice of Maximian, that he sent to destroy every man of a few detachments that had been drafted from the Theban legion, and despatched to Italy.

A veteran soldier of another legion, whose name was Victor, met the executioners of this bloody business. As they appeared rather merry, he inquired into the cause of their jocularity, and being informed of the whole affair, he sharply reproved them for their barbarity. This excited their curiosity to ask him if he was of the same faith as those who had suffered. On his answering in the affirmative, several of the soldiers fell upon him, and despatched him.

ALBAN, THE FIRST BRITISH MARTYR.

Alban, from whom St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, received its name, was the first British martyr. He was originally a pagan, and being of a very humane disposition, he sheltered a Christian ecclesiastic, named Amphibalus, who was pursued on account of his religion. The pious example, and edifying discourses of the refugee, made a great impression on the mind of Alban; he longed to become a member of a religion which charmed him; the fugitive minister, happy in the opportunity, took great pains to instruct him; and, before his discovery, perfected Alban's conversion.

Alban now took a firm resolution to preserve the sentiments of a Christian, or to die the death of a martyr. The enemies of Amphibalus having intelligence of the place where he was secreted, came to the house of Alban, in order to apprehend him. The noble host, desirous of protecting his guest, changed clothes with him, in order to facilitate his escape; and when the soldiers came, offered himself up as the person for whom they were seeking. Being accordingly carried before the governor, the deceit was immediately discovered; and Amphibalus being absent, that officer determined to wreak his vengeance upon Alban: with this view he commanded the prisoner to advance to the altar, and sacrifice to the pagan deities. The brave Alban, however, refused to comply with the idolatrous injunction, and boldly professed himself to be a Christian. The governor therefore ordered him to be scourged, which punishment he bore with great fortitude, seeming to acquire new resolution from his sufferings: he was then beheaded.

The venerable Bede states, that, upon this occasion, the executioner suddenly became a convert to Chris-

tianity, and entreated permission either to die for Alban or with him. Obtaining the latter request, they were beheaded by a soldier, who voluntarily undertook the task. This happened on the 22d of June, A. D. 287, at Verulam, now St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, where a magnificent church was erected to his memory, about the time of Constantine the Great. This edifice was destroyed in the Saxon wars, but was rebuilt by Offa, king of Mercia, and a monastery erected adjoining to it, some remains of which are still visible.

MARTYRDOM OF ST. FAITH, AND OTHERS.

Faith, a Christian female, of Aquitaine, in France, being informed that there was a design to seize her, anticipated the intention, by surrendering herself a prisoner; and being inflexible in her faith, was ordered to be broiled upon a gridiron, and then beheaded, which sentence was executed A. D. 287. Capacius, a Christian, concealed himself from the persecutors, but being informed of the fortitude of Faith, he openly avowed his religion, and delivered himself up to the governor, who had him first tortured, and then beheaded. Quintin was a Christian, and a native of Rome, but he determined to attempt the propagation of the gospel in Gaul. He accordingly went to Picardy, attended by one Lucian, and they preached together at Amiens; after which, Lucian went to Beauvais, where he suffered martyrdom. Quintin, however, remained in Picardy, and was very zealous in his ministry. His continual prayers to the Almighty were to increase his faith, and strengthen his faculties to propagate the gospel. Being seized upon as a Christian, he was stretched with pulleys till his joints were dis-

located: his body was then torn with wire scourges, and boiling oil and pitch poured on his naked flesh: lighted torches were applied to his sides and arm-pits; and after he had been thus tortured, he was remanded back to prison. Varus, the governor, being obliged to repair to Vermandois, ordered Quintin to be conducted thither under a strong guard; and here he died of the barbarities he had suffered, on the 31st of October, A. D. 287; his body was sunk in the Somme.

THE TENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the heathens to exterminate the Christians, and abolish their mode of faith, yet they increased so greatly, as to become formidable by their numbers. They, however, forgot the precepts of their meek prototype, and instead of adopting his humility, they gave themselves up to vanity, by dressing gaily, living sumptuously, building stately edifices for churches, &c. which created a general envy, and particularly excited the hatred of Galerius the adopted son of Diocletian, who, stimulated by his mother, a bigoted pagan, persuaded the emperor to commence a persecution. It accordingly began on the 23d of February, A. D. 303, that being the day on which the Terminalia were celebrated, and on which, as the pagans boasted, they hoped to put a termination to Christianity.

The persecution began in Nicodemia; the prefect of that city repaired, with a great number of officers and assistants, to the church of the Christians, where, having forced open the doors, they seized upon all the sacred books, and committed them to the flames. This transac-

tion took place in the presence of Diocletian and Galerius, who also caused the church to be levelled with the ground. It was followed by a severe edict, commanding the destruction of all other Christian churches and books; and an order soon succeeded, the object of which was to render Christians of all denominations outlaws, and consequently, to make them incapable of holding any place of trust, profit, or dignity, or of receiving any protection from the legal institutions of the realm. An immediate martyrdom was the result of the publication of this edict; for a bold Christian not only tore it down from the place to which it was affixed, but execrated the name of the emperor for his injustice and cruelty: he was in consequence seized, severely tortured, and then burnt alive. The Christian prelates were likewise apprehended and imprisoned; and Galerius privately ordered the imperial palace to be set on fire, that the Christians might be charged as the incendiaries, and a plausible pretext given for carrying on the persecution with the greatest severity.

A GENERAL SACRIFICE OF THE CHRISTIANS.

A general sacrifice was then commanded, which occasioned various martyrdoms. Among others, a Christian, named Peter, was tortured, broiled, and then burnt; several deacons and presbyters were seized upon, and executed by various means; and the bishop of Nicomedia, named Anthimus, was beheaded. So great was the persecution, that there was no distinction made of age or sex, but all were indiscriminately massacred. Many houses were set on fire, and whole Christian families perished in the flames; others had stones fastened about

their necks, and were driven into the sea. The persecution became general in all the Roman provinces, but more particularly in the East; and as it lasted ten years, it is impossible to ascertain the numbers martyred, or to enumerate the various modes of martyrdom: some were beheaded in Arabia; many devoured by wild beasts in Phœnicia; great numbers were broiled on gridirons in Syria; others had their bones broken, and in that manner were left to expire in Cappadocia; and in Mesopotamia, several were hung with their heads downwards over a slow fire and suffocated. In Pontus, a variety of tortures were used, in particular, pins were thrust under the nails of the prisoners, melted lead was poured upon them, but without effect. In Egypt, some Christians were buried alive in the earth, others were drowned in the Nile, many were hung in the air till they perished, and great numbers were thrown into large fires, &c. Scourges, racks, daggers, swords, poison, crosses, and famine, were made use of in various parts to despatch the Christians; and invention was exhausted to devise tortures against them.

A town of Phrygia, consisting entirely of Christians, was surrounded by a number of pagan soldiers, to prevent any from escaping; they then set the town on fire, and all the inhabitants perished in the flames.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS ADDRESS THE EMPEROR TO STOP THE PERSECUTION.

At last, several governors of provinces represented to the imperial court, that "it was unfit to pollute the cities with the blood of the inhabitants, or to defame the government of the emperors with the death of so many

subjects." Hence many were respited from execution; but though not put to death, they were subjected to every species of indignity. Many had their ears cut off, their noses slit, their right eyes put out, their limbs dislocated, and their flesh seared in conspicuous places, with red-hot irons.

THE CHRISTIANS REFUSE TO BEAR ARMS UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

At this time the Christians, upon mature consideration, thought it unlawful to bear arms under a heathen emperor. Their reasons were:

1. That they thereby were frequently under the necessity of profaning the Christian Sabbath.
2. That they were obliged, with the rest of the army, frequently to be present at idolatrous sacrifices, before the temples of idols.
3. That they were compelled to follow the imperial standards, which were dedicated to heathen deities, and bore their representations.

Such reasons induced many to refuse to enter into the imperial army, when called upon so to do; for the Roman constitution obliged all young men, of a certain stature, to make several campaigns.

Maximilian, the son of Fabius Victor, being pointed out as a proper person to bear arms, was ordered by Dion, the proconsul, to be measured, that he might be enlisted in the service. Maximilian, however, boldly declared himself a Christian, and refused to do military duty. Being found of the proper height, Dion gave directions that he should be marked as a soldier, according to the usual custom. He, however, strenuously opposed this order, and told Dion, that he could not possibly

engage in the service. The proconsul instantly replied, that he should either serve as a soldier, or die for disobedience. "Do as you please with me," replied Maximilian; "behead me, if you think proper: I am already a soldier of Christ, and cannot serve any other power."

Dion, wishing, however, to save the young man, commanded his father to use his authority over him, in order to persuade him to comply; but Victor coolly replied, "My son knoweth best what he has to do." Dion again demanded of Maximilian, with some acrimony, if he was yet disposed to receive the mark? To which the young man replied, he had already received the mark of Christ. "Have you!" exclaimed the proconsul in a rage, "then I shall quickly send you to Christ." "As soon as you please," answered Maximilian; "that is all I wish or desire." The proconsul then pronounced this sentence upon him: "That for disobedience in refusing to bear arms, and for professing the Christian faith, he should lose his head." This sentence he heard with great intrepidity, and exclaimed, with apparent rapture, "God be praised."

At the place of execution, he exhorted those who were Christians to remain so; and such as were not, to embrace a faith which led to eternal salvation. Then addressing his father with a cheerful countenance, he desired that the military habit intended for him might be given to the executioner; and, after taking leave of him, said, he hoped they should meet again in the other world, and be happy to all eternity. He then received the fatal stroke, which separated his head from his body. The father beheld the execution with amazing fortitude, and saw the head of his son severed from his body without any emotions, but such as seemed to

proceed from a conscious pleasure, in being the parent of one whose piety and courage rendered him so great an example for Christians to imitate.

FORTITUDE AND NOBLE CONDUCT OF THREE CHRISTIAN
FRIENDS.

While Maximus, governor of Cilicia, was at Tarsus, three Christians were brought before him by Demetrius, a military officer. Tarachus, the eldest, and first in rank, was addressed by Maximus, who asked him what he was? The prisoner replied, "A Christian." This reply offending the governor, he again made the same demand, and was answered in a similar manner. Hereupon the governor told him, that he ought to sacrifice to the gods, as that was the only way to promotion, riches, and honours; and that the emperors themselves did what he recommended to him to perform: but Tarachus replied, that avarice was a sin, and gold itself an idol as abominable as any other; for it promoted frauds, treacheries, robberies, and murders; it induced men to deceive each other, by which in time they deceived themselves, and bribed the weak to their own eternal destruction. As for promotion, he desired it not, as he could not in conscience accept of any place which would subject him to pay adoration to idols; and with regard to honours, he desired none greater than the honourable title of Christian. As to the emperors themselves being pagans, he added with the same undaunted and determined spirit, that they were superstitiously deceived in adoring senseless idols, and evidently misled by the machinations of the devil himself. For the boldness of this speech, his jaws were ordered to be broken. He

was then stripped, scourged, loaded with chains, and thrown into a dismal dungeon, to remain there till the trials of the other two prisoners. Probus was then brought before Maximus, who, as usual, asked him his name. Undauntedly the prisoner replied, the most valuable name he could boast of was that of a Christian. To this Maximus replied in the following words: "Your name of Christian will be of little service to you, be therefore guided by me; sacrifice to the gods, engage my friendship, and the favour of the emperor." Probus nobly answered, "that as he had relinquished a considerable fortune to become a soldier of Christ, it might appear evident, that he neither cared for his friendship, nor the favour of the emperor." Probus was then scourged; and Demetrius, the officer, observing to him how his blood flowed, advised him to comply; but his only answer was, that those severities were agreeable to him. "What!" cried Maximus, "does he still persist in his madness?" To which Probus rejoined, "that character is badly bestowed on one who refuses to worship idols, or, what is worse, devils." After being scourged on the back, he was scourged on the belly, which he suffered with as much intrepidity as before, still repeating, "the more my body suffers and loses blood, the more my soul will grow vigorous, and be a gainer." He was then committed to goal, loaded with irons, and his hands and feet stretched upon the stocks. Andronicus was next brought up, when, being asked the usual questions, he said, "I am a Christian, a native of Ephesus, and descended from one of the first families in that city." He was ordered to undergo punishments similar to those of Tarachus and Probus, and then to be remanded to prison.

Having been confined some days, the three prisoners

were again brought before Maximus, who began first to reason with Tarachus, saying, that as old age was honoured from the supposition of its being accompanied by wisdom, he was in hopes that what had already past, must, upon deliberation, have caused a change in his sentiments. Finding himself, however, mistaken, he ordered him to be tortured by various means; particularly, fire was placed in the palms of his hands; he was hung up by his feet, and smoked with wet straw; and a mixture of salt and vinegar was poured into his nostrils; and he was then again remanded to his dungeon. Probus being again called, and asked if he would sacrifice, replied, "I come better prepared than before; for what I have already suffered, has only confirmed and strengthened me in my resolution. Employ your whole power upon me, and you will find, that neither you, nor your masters, the emperors, nor the gods whom you serve, nor the devil, who is your father, shall oblige me to adore gods whom I know not." The governor, however, attempted to reason with him, paid the most extravagant praises to the pagan deities, and pressed him to sacrifice to Jupiter; but Probus turned his casuistry into ridicule, and said, "Shall I pay divine honours to Jupiter; to one who married his own sister; to an infamous debauchee; as he is even acknowledged to have been by your own priests and poets?" Provoked at this speech, the governor ordered him to be struck upon the mouth, for uttering what he called blasphemy: his body was then seared with hot irons, he was put to the rack, and afterwards scourged, his head was then shaved, and red hot coals placed upon the crown; and after all these tortures, he was again sent to prison.

When Andronicus was again brought before Maximus, the latter attempted to deceive him, by pretending that

Tarachus and Probus had repented of their obstinacy, and owned the gods of the empire. To this the prisoner answered, "Lay not, O governor, such a weakness to the charge of those who have appeared here before me in this cause, nor imagine it to be in your power to shake my fixed resolution with artful speeches. I cannot believe that they have disobeyed the laws of their fathers, renounced their hopes in our God, and consented to your extravagant orders: nor will I ever fall short of them in faith and dependance upon our common Saviour: thus armed, I neither know your gods, nor fear your authority; fulfil your threats, execute your most sanguinary inventions, and employ every cruel art in your power on me; I am prepared to bear it, for the sake of Christ." For this answer he was cruelly scourged, and his wounds were afterwards rubbed with salt; but being well again in a short time, the governor reproached the gaoler for having suffered some physician to attend to him. The gaoler declared, that no person whatever had been near him, or the other prisoners, and that he would willingly forfeit his head, if any allegation of the kind could be proved against him. Andronicus corroborated the testimony of the gaoler, and added, that the God whom he served, was the most powerful of physicians.

These three Christians were brought to a third examination, when they retained their constancy, were again tortured, and at length ordered for execution. Being brought to the amphitheatre, several beasts were let loose upon them; but none of the animals, though hungry, would touch them. Maximus became so surprised and incensed at this circumstance, that he severely reprehended the keeper, and ordered him to produce a beast that would execute the business for which he was

wanted. The keeper then brought out a large bear, that had that day destroyed three men; but this creature, and a fierce lioness, also refused to touch the Christians. Finding the design of destroying them by the means of wild beasts ineffectual, Maximus ordered them to be slain by a sword, which was accordingly executed on the 11th of October, A. D. 303. They all declared, previous to their martyrdom, that as death was the common lot of all men, they wished to meet it for the sake of Christ; and to resign that life to faith, which must otherwise be the prey of disease.

HORRID MARTYRDOM OF ROMANUS.

Romanus, a native of Palestine, was deacon of the church of Cæsarea at the time of the commencement of Diocletian's persecution. He was at Antioch when the imperial order arrived for sacrificing to idols, and was greatly afflicted to see many Christians, through fear, submit to the idolatrous mandate, and deny their faith to preserve their existence. While censuring some of them for their conduct, he was informed against, and soon after apprehended. Being brought to the tribunal, he confessed himself a Christian, and said he was willing to suffer any thing which they might be pleased to inflict upon him for his confession. When condemned, he was scourged, put to the rack, his body torn with hooks, his flesh cut with knives, his face scarified, his teeth beat from their sockets, and his hair plucked up by the roots. Thus cruelly mangled, he turned to the governor, and very calmly thanked him for what he had done, and for having opened for him so many mouths to preach the doctrines of Christianity; "for," says he,

"every wound is a mouth, to sing the praises of the Lord." He was soon after ordered to be strangled; which sentence was executed on the 17th of November, A. D. 303.

MARTYRDOM OF THREE SISTERS.

Three sisters, Chionia, Agape, and Irene, were seized upon at Thessalonica. They had been educated in the Christian faith, but had taken great precautions to remain unknown. They therefore retired to a solitary place, and spent their hours in performing religious duties. Being, however, discovered and seized, they renounced their former timidity, blamed themselves for being so fearful, and begged of God to strengthen them against the great trial they had to undergo.

When Agape was examined before Dulcatius the governor, and was asked, whether she was disposed to comply with the laws of the land, and obey the mandates of the emperor? she answered, "That, being a Christian, she could not comply with any laws which recommended the worship of idols and devils; that her resolution was fixed, and nothing should deter her from continuing in it." Her sister Chionia replied in the same manner; when the governor, not being able to draw them from their faith, pronounced sentence of condemnation on them; pursuant to which they were burnt, March 25, A. D. 304.

Irene was then brought before the governor, who fancied that the death of her sisters would have an effect upon her fears, and that the dread of similar sufferings would engage her to comply with his proposals. He therefore exhorted her to acknowledge the heathen deities, to sacrifice to them, to partake of the victims, and

to deliver up her books relative to Christianity. But she positively refused to comply with any of them: the governor asked her, Who it was that persuaded her and her sisters to keep those books and writings? She answered, It was that God who commanded them to love him to the last; for which reason she was resolved to submit to be buried alive rather than give them up into the hands of his professed enemies.

When the governor found that he could make no impression on her, he ordered her to be exposed naked in the streets; which shameful order having been executed, she was burnt, April 1, A. D. 304, at the same place where her sisters had suffered before her.

MARTYRDOM OF THEODOTUS AND OTHERS.

Theotecnus, the governor of Dalmatia, whose cruelty could be equalled by nothing but his bigotry, received the mandate for persecuting the Christians with great satisfaction, and wrote the emperor word that he would do his utmost endeavours to root out Christianity from every place under his jurisdiction. Thus encouraged by the governor, the pagans began to inform against, abuse, and persecute the Christians. Great numbers were seized upon, and imprisoned; their goods were destroyed, and their estates confiscated. Many fled into the woods, or retired to caves, where some supported themselves by feeding upon roots, and others perished by famine. Many were also starved in the city, by means of the following singular stratagem: The governor gave strict orders, that no provisions whatever should be exposed to sale in the markets, without having been first consecrated to the idols; hence the Christians

were compelled to eat what had been offered to the devil, or to refrain from food, and perish. The latter dreadful alternative was chosen by many, who, to preserve the purity of their faith, heroically gave up their lives.

In these dreadful times, Theodotus, a Christian inn-keeper of Ancyra, did all that he could to comfort the imprisoned, and buried the bodies of several who had been martyred, though it was forbidden on pain of death. He likewise privately assisted many with food; for having lain in a great stock of corn and wine, he sold it at prime cost.

Polychronicus, a Christian, being seized, forfeited his faith, in order to preserve his life, and informed against his friend Theodotus, who, hearing of this treachery, surrendered himself to the governor of his own accord.

On his arrival in the court, he surveyed the instruments of torture with a smile, and seemed totally regardless of their effects. When placed at the bar, the governor informed him, that it was still in his power to save himself, by sacrificing to the gods of the empire; "and," he continued, "if you renounce your faith in Christ, I promise you my friendship, and the emperor's protection, and will constitute you one of the magistrates of the town."

Theodotus displayed great courage and eloquence in his answer: he absolutely refused to renounce his faith, declined the friendship of the governor, and protection of the emperor, and treated the idols with the greatest contempt. The pagans on this were in general extremely clamorous against the prisoner, and demanded him to be immediately punished; the priests in particular rent their clothes, and tore their chaplets, the badges of their offices, through rage. The governor complied with

their desire, when Theodotus was scourged, torn with hooks, and then placed upon the rack. After this, vinegar was poured into his wounds, his flesh was seared with burning torches, and his teeth were knocked out of their sockets. He was then remanded to prison; and as he went, pointing to his mangled body, he said to the people, "It was but just that Christians should suffer for him who suffered for us all." Five days afterwards, he was brought from prison, tortured, and then beheaded.

ACTIONS OF PHILIP, BISHOP OF HERACLEA.

Philip, bishop of Heraclea, had, in every act of his life, appeared as a good Christian; the chief of his disciples were Severus, a priest, and Hermes, a deacon, who all did much to promote the cause of Christianity. This worthy bishop was advised to secrete himself, in order to avoid the persecution; but he reproved those who counselled him so to do, telling them that their merit would be enhanced by their sufferings, and that death had no terror for the virtuous. He therefore publicly performed his duty.

When Philip was taken to the market place, he was ordered to sacrifice to the Roman deities in general, and to Hercules in particular; in answer to which command, he made an animated address on the real nature of the Deity; and concluded, that from what he had already said, it appeared that the heathens worshipped what might lawfully be trodden on, and made gods of such things as Providence had designed for their service.

The governor then tried the constancy of Hermes, but finding him as inflexible as the bishop, he committed them both to prison. Soon after this, a new governor,

named Justin, arrived; but he was equally cruel as his predecessor.

Philip was then dragged by the feet through the streets, severely scourged, and brought again to the governor, who charged him with obstinate rashness, in continuing disobedient to the imperial decrees; but he boldly replied, that "he was obliged to prefer heaven to earth, and to obey God rather than man." On this the governor immediately passed sentence on him to be burnt, which was executed accordingly, and he expired, singing praises to God in the midst of the fire. Hermes, for behaving in a similar manner, and Severus, who had surrendered himself up in order to suffer with his friends, met with the same fate.

NUMEROUS MARTYRDOMS.

Agricola was a Christian of so very amiable a disposition, that he even gained the esteem and admiration of the pagans. Being apprehended, however, he was crucified, in imitation of the death of our Saviour; and his body, together with the cross, was buried at Bologna, in Italy.

Vitalis, the servant and convert of the above Agricola, was seized upon the same account as his master, and being put to the severity of the torture, died under the hands of his tormentors.

Carpophorus, Victorius, Severus, and Severianus, were brothers, and all were employed in places of great trust and honour in the city of Rome. Having exclaimed against the worshipping of idols, they were apprehended, and scourged with the plumbetæ, or scourges, to the ends of which were fastened leaden balls. This

punishment was exercised with such cruelty, that the pious brothers fell martyrs to its severity.

A Christian of Aquileia, named Chrysogonus, was beheaded by order of Diocletian, for having instructed Anastasia, a young lady of that city, in the Christian faith. This young lady was descended from an illustrious Roman family. Her mother, named Flavia, was a Christian, and dying while her daughter was an infant, she bequeathed her to the care of Chrysogonus, with a strict injunction to instruct her in the principles of Christianity. This Chrysogonus punctually performed; but the father of the lady, who was a pagan, gave her in marriage to a person of his own persuasion, named Publius, who was of a good family, but bad morals, and having spent his wife's and his own patrimony, he had the baseness to inform against her as a Christian.

Publius soon after dying, his wife was released; but continuing to perform many charitable actions to Christians, she was again apprehended, and delivered up to Florus, governor of Illyricum. Florus commanded that she should be put to the torture, when finding her constant in the faith, he ordered her to be burnt, which was executed on December 25, A. D. 304; the event taking place about a month after the martyrdom of Chrysogonus, her instructor.

In the same year, Mouris and Thea, two Christian women of Gaza, were martyred in that city. The former died under the hands of her tormentors, and the latter perished in prison of the wounds she had received when tortured.

Timothy, a deacon of Mauritania, and Maura his wife, had not been married above three weeks, when they were separated from each other by the persecution.

Timothy was carried before Arrianus, the governor of Thebais, who did all in his power to induce him to embrace the pagan superstition. But perceiving his endeavours vain, and knowing that Timothy had the keeping of the holy scriptures, the governor commanded him to deliver them up, that they might be burnt: to which Timothy answered, "Had I children, I would sooner deliver them up to be sacrificed, than part from the word of God." The governor, much incensed at this reply, ordered his eyes to be put out with red-hot irons, saying, "The books shall at least be useless to you, for you shall not see to read them." He endured the punishment with such patience, that the governor grew more exasperated, and ordered him to be hung up by the feet, with a weight tied about his neck, and a gag in his mouth.

This treatment he underwent with the greatest courage; when some person acquainted the governor that he had been but newly married to a wife, of whom he was extremely fond. Arrianus accordingly ordered Maura to be sent for, and promised a handsome reward, with the life of her husband, if she could prevail upon him to sacrifice to the idols. Maura, wavering in her faith, tempted by a bribe, and impelled by an unbounded affection for her husband, undertook the impious affair.

When conducted to him, she assailed his constancy with all the persuasive language of affection. When the gag was taken out of his mouth, in order to give him an opportunity of replying, instead of consenting to his wife's entreaties, as they expected, he greatly blamed her mistaken love, and declared his resolution of dying for the faith. Maura repeated her importunities, till the martyr, her husband, reproached her so strongly with her weakness, that she returned to his way of thinking,

and resolved to imitate his courage and fidelity, and either to accompany, or follow him to glory. Timothy advised her to repair her fault by declaring that resolution to the governor, by whose order she had undertaken the sinful commission. On which, being strengthened by his exhortations, and the grace of God, she went to Arrianus, and told him, that she was united to her husband in opinion as well as love, and was ready to suffer any thing to atone for her late crime, in wishing to make him an apostate. The governor immediately ordered her to be tortured, which was executed with great severity; and after this Timothy and Maura were crucified near each other, A. D. 304.

DREADFUL PERSECUTIONS BY GALERIUS.

As Galerius bore an implacable hatred towards the Christians, we are informed, that "he not only condemned them to tortures, but to be burnt, in slow fires, in this horrible manner: they were first chained to a post, then a gentle fire put to the soles of their feet, which contracted the callus till it fell off from the bone: then flambeaux just extinguished were put to all parts of their bodies, so that they might be tortured all over; and care was taken to keep them alive, by throwing cold water in their faces, and giving them some to wash their mouths, lest their throats should be dried up with thirst, and choke them. Thus their miseries were lengthened out whole days, till, at last, their skins being consumed, and they just ready to expire, were thrown into a great fire, and had their bodies burned to ashes, after which their ashes were thrown into some river."

Julitta, a Lycaonian of royal descent, was a Christian

lady of great humility, constancy, and integrity. When the edict for sacrificing to idols was published at Iconium, she withdrew from that city, taking with her only her young son Cyricus, and two female servants. She was, however, seized at Tarsus, and being carried before Alexander, the governor, she acknowledged that she was a Christian. For this confession her son was taken from her, and she was immediately put to the rack, and tortured with great severity, which she bore with pious resignation. The child, however, cried bitterly to get at his mother; when the governor, observing the beauty, and being melted at the tears of the infant, took him upon his knee, and endeavoured to pacify him. Nothing, however, could quiet Cyricus; he still called upon his mother, and at length, in imitation of her words, lisped out, "I am a Christian." This innocent expression turned the governor's compassion into rage; and throwing the child furiously against the pavement, he dashed out its brains. The mother, who from the rack beheld the transaction, thanked the Almighty that her child was gone before her; and she should have no anxiety concerning his future welfare. To complete the torture, boiling pitch was poured on her feet, her sides were torn with hooks, and she was finally beheaded, April 16, A. D. 305.

Julitta, of Cappadocia, was a lady of distinguished abilities, great virtue, and uncommon courage: she was put to death in consequence of the accusation of a heathen who had usurped her estates, and bribed the judges in his favour. Refusing to offer incense to the pagan deities, she was burnt to death.

Eustratius, secretary to the governor of Armenia, was thrown into a furnace, for exhorting some Christians, who had been apprehended, to persevere in their faith.

Auxentius and Eugenius, two of Eustratius' adherents, were burnt at Nicopolis; Mardarius, another friend of his, expired under torment; and Orestes, a military officer, was broiled to death on a gridiron, for wearing a golden cross at his breast. Theodore, a Syrian by birth, a soldier and a Christian, set fire to the temple of Cybele, in Amasia, through indignation at the idolatrous worship practised in it, for which he was scourged, and on February 18, A. D. 306, burnt to death.

Two Roman military officers, Nicander and Marcian, were apprehended on the same account. As they were both men of great abilities, the utmost endeavours were made to induce them to renounce Christianity; but being without effect, they were ordered to be beheaded. The execution was attended by vast crowds of the populace, among whom were the wives of the two sufferers. The consort of Nicander was a Christian, and encouraged her husband to meet his fate with fortitude; but the wife of Marcian being a pagan, entreated her husband to save himself, for the sake of her and her child. Marcian, however, reproved her for her idolatry and folly, but tenderly embraced her and the infant. Nicander likewise took leave of his wife in the most affectionate manner, and then both, with great resolution, received the crown of martyrdom. Besides these there were many others, whose names and sufferings are not recorded by the ancient historians.

MARTYRDOMS IN NAPLES.

In the kingdom of Naples several martyrdoms took place: in particular, Januarius, bishop of Beneventum; Sosius, deacon of Misene; Proculus, another deacon;

Eutyches and Acutius, two laymen; Festus, a deacon; and Desiderius, a curate, were all condemned, by the governor of Campania, to be devoured by wild beasts for professing Christianity. The animals, however, not touching them, they were beheaded.

Marcellus, a centurion of the Trajan legion, was posted at Tangier, and being a Christian, suffered martyrdom, under the following circumstances:

While he was there, the emperor's birth-day was kept, and the sacrifices to the pagan idols made a considerable part of that solemnity. All the subjects of the empire were expected, on that occasion, to conform to the blind religion of their prince; but Marcellus, who had been well instructed in the duties of his profession, expressed his detestation of those profane practices, by throwing away his belt, the badge of his military character, at the head of his company, declaring aloud that he was a soldier of Christ, the Eternal King. He then quitted his arms, and added, that from that moment he ceased to serve the emperor; and that he thus expressed his contempt of the gods of the empire, which were no better than deaf and dumb idols. "If," continued he, "their imperial majesties impose the obligation of sacrificing to them and their gods, as a necessary condition of their service, I here throw up my commission, and quit the army." This behaviour occasioned an order for his being beheaded. Cassian, secretary to the court which tried Marcellus, expressing his disapprobation of such proceedings, was ordered into custody; when avowing himself a Christian, he met with the same fate.

MARTYRDOM OF QUIRINUS, AND OTHERS.

Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, being carried before Matenius, the governor, was ordered to sacrifice to the pagan deities; but refusing, was ordered to be severely scourged. During the infliction of this punishment, the governor urgently pressed him to sacrifice, and offered to make him a priest of Jupiter; to which Quirinus replied, "I am already engaged in the priestly office, while I thus offer a sacrifice to the true God. I scarce feel my torments, and am ready to suffer still greater, that my example may show those whom God has committed to my care, the way to the glory we wish for."

The governor then sent him to prison, and ordered him to be heavily ironed; after which he was sent to Amantius, governor of Pannonia, who loaded him with chains, and carried him through the principal towns of that province, exposing him to general ridicule. At length, arriving at Sabaria, and finding that Quirinus would not renounce his faith, he ordered him to be cast into a river, with a stone fastened to his neck. This sentence was accordingly put into execution, and Quirinus, floating about for some time, exhorted the people in the most pious terms, concluding his admonitions with this prayer:

"It is no new thing, O all powerful Jesus! for thee to stop the course of rivers, or to cause a man to walk upon the water, as thou didst thy servant Peter: the people have already seen the proof of thy power in me; grant me now to lay down my life for thy sake, O my God!"

After uttering these words, he immediately sunk. This took place June 4, A. D. 308; and his body was afterwards taken up, and buried by some pious Christians.

Five Egyptian Christians being on a visit to their afflicted brethren in Cæsarea, were apprehended and carried before Firmilian, the governor of Palestine, who, on questioning them, was answered by one, in the name of the rest, that they were Christians, and belonged to the glorious city of Jerusalem, speaking allegorically of the heavenly Jerusalem. The governor was surprised at the answer, as he knew Vespasian and his son Titus had destroyed the ancient Jerusalem; and that the inconsiderable town erected by Adrian upon the spot, was called Ælia Capitolina: he therefore inquired more particularly concerning it. The Christian who had spoken before, again replied, and pursuing the allegory, described, with great force of imagination, the beauty, riches, and strength of the place. Firmilian still mistaking his meaning, by understanding his word in a literal sense, became much alarmed; for not dreaming that a heavenly city was alluded to, he fancied that the Christians were strengthening and fortifying some place, in order to revolt from their allegiance to the emperor. Prejudiced by this mistake, and enraged at their supposed disloyalty, he condemned the five prisoners to be cruelly tormented, and then beheaded; which sentence was executed on the 16th of February, A. D. 309.

CONSTANTINE BECOMES THE CHAMPION OF THE CHRISTIANS.

Constantine the Great at length determined to redress the grievances of the Christians, for which purpose he raised an army of 30,000 foot, and 8000 horse, with which he marched towards Rome, against Maxentius, the emperor. But, reflecting on the fatal miscarriages

of his predecessors, who had maintained a multiplicity of gods, and reposed an entire confidence in their assistance; and considering that while his own father adored only one God he continually prospered; Constantine rejected the adoration of idols, and implored the assistance of the Almighty; who heard his prayers, and answered them in a manner so surprising and miraculous, that Eusebius acknowledges it would not have been credible, had he not received it from the emperor's own mouth, who publicly and solemnly ratified the truth upon his oath.

THE VISION OF CONSTANTINE.

“The army being advanced near Rome, and the emperor employed in his devout ejaculations, on the 27th day of October, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the sun was declining, there suddenly appeared to him a pillar of light in the heavens, in the form of a cross, with this plain inscription on or about it, ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ, “In this overcome.” Constantine was greatly surprised at this strange sight, which was visible to the whole army, who equally wondered at it with himself. The officers and commanders, prompted by the augurs and auspices, or soothsayers, looked upon it as an inauspicious omen, portending an unfortunate expedition; the emperor himself did not understand it, till at length our Saviour appeared to him in a vision, with the cross in his hand, commanding him to make a royal standard, like that he had seen in the heavens, and cause it to be continually carried before his army, as an ensign both of victory and safety. Early the next morning, Constantine informed his friends and officers of what he had seen in the night, and sending for proper workmen, sat

down by them and described to them the form of the standard, which he then ordered them to make with the greatest art and magnificence; and accordingly they made it thus: a long spear, plated with gold, with a traverse piece at the top, in the form of a cross, to which was fastened a four-square purple banner, embroidered with gold, and beset with precious stones, which reflected an amazing lustre: towards the top was depicted the emperor between his two sons; on the top of the shaft, above the cross, stood a crown, overlaid with gold and jewels, within which was placed the sacred symbol, namely, the two first letters of Christ in Greek, χ and ρ , struck one through the other: this device he afterwards bore not only upon his shields, but also upon his coins, many of which are still extant."

DEATH OF MAXIMUS AND LICINIUS.

Afterwards engaging Maxentius, he defeated him, and entered the city of Rome in triumph. A law was now published in favour of the Christians, in which Licinius joined with Constantine, and a copy of it was sent to Maximus in the East. Maximus, who was a bigoted pagan, greatly disliked the edict, but being afraid of Constantine, did not, however, openly avow his disapprobation of it. At length, he invaded the territories of Licinius; but being defeated, put an end to his life by poison.

Licinius was not really a Christian, but affected to appear such, through dread of Constantine's power; for even after publishing several edicts in favour of the Christians, he put to death Blase, bishop of Sebaste, several bishops and priests of Egypt and Lybia, who were

cut to pieces, and thrown into the sea; and forty soldiers of the garrison of Sebaste, who suffered martyrdom by fire. This cruelty and hypocrisy greatly incensed Constantine; he marched against Licinius, and defeated him, and that commander was afterwards slain by his own soldiers.

REMARKS ON THE VENGEANCE OF GOD TOWARDS THE
PERSECUTORS OF THE CHRISTIANS.

We cannot close our account of the ten persecutions under the Roman emperors, without calling the attention of the Christian reader to the manifestations of the great displeasure of the Almighty against the persecutors. History evidently proves, that no nation or individual can ultimately prosper, by whom Christ Jesus, the Son of God, is condemned. During the persecutions of the holy martyrs which we have related above, the Roman people were the victims of the cruelty and tyranny of their rulers, and the empire was perpetually torn and distracted by civil wars. In the reign of Tiberius, five thousand persons were crushed to death by the fall of a theatre, and on many other occasions the divine wrath was evinced against that cruel and merciless nation.

Neither did the emperors themselves escape without their just reward. Tiberius was murdered; as were his three immediate successors. Galba, after a reign of only seven months, was put to death by Otho, who being vanquished by Vitellius, killed himself. Vitellius, shortly after, was tortured, and his body thrown into the Tiber. Titus is said to have been poisoned by his brother Domitian, who was afterwards slain by his wife.

Commodus was strangled. Pertinax and Didius were put to death; Severus killed himself; Caracalla slew his brother Geta, and was in his turn slain by Macrinus, who, with his son, was afterwards killed by his own soldiers. Heliogabalus was put to death by the people. Alexander Severus, a virtuous emperor, was murdered by Maximinus, who was afterwards slain by his own army. Pupienus and Balbinus were murdered by the prætorian guards. Gordian and Philip were slain. Decius was drowned, and his son killed in battle. Gallus and Volusianus were murdered by Æmilianus, who within three months afterwards was himself slain. Valerian was taken prisoner by the Persians, and at length flayed alive, and his son Gallienus was assassinated. Aurelian was murdered; as were Tacitus, Florianus, and Probus. Galerius died in a miserable manner, as did Maximinus of a horrible and loathsome disease. Maxentius, being conquered by Constantine, was drowned in his attempt to escape; and Licinius was deposed, and slain by his soldiers.

The Jews, also, for their obstinacy and wickedness in rejecting the gospel so graciously offered to them by Jesus Christ, were signally punished. Forty years had scarcely elapsed from their crucifixion of our Saviour, when Jerusalem was levelled with the ground, and more than a million of the Jews killed; innumerable multitudes sold for slaves; and many thousands torn to pieces by wild beasts, or otherwise cruelly slain. Indeed, the nation may be said to have been annihilated—its political existence was terminated, and the descendants of that people, which was once peculiarly favoured of God, are now scattered over the face of the earth—a by-word and a reproach among the nations.

Thus it is evident that wickedness and infidelity are

certainly, though sometimes slowly, punished by Him who is just, although merciful: and if he has hitherto graciously refrained from visiting the sins of this nation with the punishment which they deserve, let us not be vain of that exemption: let us not attribute it to any merit of our own; but rather let it afford an additional motive to our gratitude and praise; let us unfeignedly thank him for his tender mercies daily vouchsafed to us; and, while we bow before him in humble adoration, let us earnestly endeavour to preserve our worship of him free from that ungodliness and superstition of which it has been happily purged and cleansed by the blood of the holy martyrs. So shall we not only secure our happiness in this world, but, in the end, attain everlasting joy and felicity, through the merits of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave up himself as a precious sacrifice for our transgressions.

If we be negligent in the defence of the pure religion which he has vouchsafed to impart unto us; if we allow that glorious fabric, which cost so much blood to raise, to be overturned by the open attack of the Infidel, or the more dangerous sap and mine of the Catholic Emancipator; we alone are justly blameable for the consequences that will infallibly ensue; and on our heads will rest the dreadful responsibility of having surrendered the citadel of our security to those who await, in anxious expectation, the moment when the weakness of some, and the indifference of others, shall allow the power to pass from their hands, under the delusive hope of seeing it exercised with moderation.

BOOK II.

**AN ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS
IN PERSIA BY SAPORES; IN EGYPT, &c. BY THE ARIAN
HERETICS; BY JULIAN THE APOSTATE; BY THE GOTHs,
VANDALS, &c. &c.**

SECTION I.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS IN PERSIA.

IN consequence of the gospel having spread itself into Persia, the pagan priests became greatly alarmed, dreading the loss of their influence over the minds of their people. They therefore complained to the emperor, that the Christians were enemies to the state, and held a treasonable correspondence with the Romans, the great enemies of Persia. The emperor, being himself averse to Christianity, gave credit to their accusations, and issued orders for the persecution of the Christians throughout his empire.

MARTYRDOM OF SIMEON AND OTHERS.

In consequence of this mandate, Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia, with many other ecclesiastics, to the number of 128, were apprehended and accused of having betrayed the affairs of Persia to the Romans. The emperor

being greatly exasperated against them, ordered Simeon to be brought before him. The archbishop in his presence boldly acknowledged his faith, and defended the cause of Christianity. The emperor, offended at his freedom, ordered him to kneel before him as he had heretofore done. To this Simeon answered, "That being now brought before him a prisoner, for the truth of his religion, it was not lawful for him to kneel, lest he should be thought to worship a man, and betray his faith to his God." Whereupon the emperor told him, that if he did not kneel, he and all the Christians in his dominions should be put to death; but Simeon still rejected the command with disdain. The emperor then ordered him to be sent to prison.

A short time after, Simeon, with his fellow-prisoners, was again examined, and commanded to worship the sun, agreeably to the Persian custom; but this they unanimously refused. The emperor then sentenced them to be beheaded, which sentence was accordingly executed.

An aged eunuch, named Usthazares, who had been tutor to the emperor, and was in great estimation at court, meeting Simeon as he was led to prison, saluted him. Simeon, however, (as Usthazares had formerly been a Christian, and had apostatized to oblige the emperor) would not return his salute, but reproved him for his apostacy. This so affected the eunuch, that he burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Ah! how shall I hereafter look upon my God, whom I have denied, when Simeon, my old companion and familiar acquaintance, disdains to give me a gentle word, or to return my salute!"

The emperor learning that his ancient tutor was greatly afflicted, sent for him, and asked him whether he desired any thing which could be procured for him; to

which the eunuch replied, "That there was nothing that he wanted, which this earth could afford; but that his grief was of another kind, and for which he justly mourned, namely, that to oblige his sovereign he had denied his God, and had dissemblingly worshipped the sun, against his own conscience; for which," continued he, "I am deserving of a double death; first for denying of Christ; and secondly, for dissembling with my king."

The emperor, greatly offended at this speech, ordered Usthazares to be beheaded; who therefore requested that it might be proclaimed, "That Usthazares did not die for any crime against the emperor or state; but only that being a Christian, he would not deny his God." This petition was granted, and was a great satisfaction to Usthazares, whose chief reason for desiring it was, because his falling off from Christ had caused many others to follow his example; who now hearing that he died for no crime but his religion, might, like him, return to Christ and the faith. Usthazares then cheerfully yielded his neck to the sword.

On the Good Friday after the above execution, an edict was published, ordering that all who confessed themselves Christians, should be put to death; which caused the destruction of multitudes. About this time the empress of Persia falling sick, the sisters of Simeon, the archbishop, were accused by some of the magi of causing this calamity. This report being credited, they were, by the emperor's orders, sawed in quarters, and their limbs fixed upon poles, between which the empress passed as a charm to effect the restoration of her health.

Acepsimus, and many other ecclesiastics, were seized upon, and ordered to adore the sun; which refusing, they were scourged, and then tormented to death, or kept in prison till they expired. Athalas, a priest,

though not put to death, was so miserably racked, that his arms were rendered useless; and he was ever after obliged to be fed like a child. In short, by this edict, above 16,000 persons either suffered horribly by torture, or lost their lives.

CONSTANTINE WRITES TO THE KING OF PERSIA IN FAVOUR OF THE CHRISTIANS.

When Constantine the Great was informed of the persecutions in Persia, he was much concerned, and began to reflect in what manner he should redress their grievances, when an ambassador arrived from the Persian emperor, upon some political business. Constantine received him courteously, granted his demands, and wrote a letter to the Persian monarch in favour of the Christians, in which he alluded to the vengeance that had fallen on persecutors, and the success that had attended those who had refrained from the persecution; and then referring to the tyrants and persecuting emperors of his own time, he said, "I subdued those solely by faith in Christ; for which God was my helper, who gave me victory in battle, and made me triumph over my enemies; and hath so enlarged to me the bounds of the Roman empire, that it extends from the Western Ocean, almost to the uttermost parts of the East: for which purpose I neither offered sacrifices to the ancient deities, nor made use of charm or divination; but only offered up prayers to the Almighty God, and followed the cross of Christ: and how glad should I be to hear that the throne of Persia flourished, by embracing the Christians! that so you with me, and they with you, may enjoy all the felicity your souls could desire; as undoubtedly you

would, God, the Almighty Creator of all things, becoming your protector and defender. These men, therefore, I commend to your honour; I commit them unto you, desiring you to embrace them with humanity; for in so doing, you will procure to yourself grace through faith, and bestow on me a benefit worthy of my thanks."

In consequence of this appeal, the persecution ended during the life of Sapores; but it was renewed under his successors.

DEGRADATION OF A CHRISTIAN NOBLEMAN.

Hormisdas, a Persian nobleman, being convicted of Christianity, was ordered to attend the emperor's elephants naked. This disgusting task he performed for some time, when the emperor one day standing at a window which overlooked the yard where the elephants were kept, saw Hormisdas performing his office. Determining to try him once more, he gave orders that a shirt should be put on him, and that he should be brought into his presence. He then asked him if he would now deny Christ. On which Hormisdas tore off his shirt, and said, "If you think I will deny my faith for the sake of a shirt, take your gift again." The emperor then banished him from Persia, and he died in exile.

Suenes, a Christian nobleman, refusing to deny Christ, his wife was taken from him, and given to one of the meanest of the emperor's slaves; while he was ordered to wait upon his wife and the slave, which broke his heart.

Theodoret, a deacon, was imprisoned for two years, and on being released, was ordered not to preach the doctrine of Christ. He, however, did his utmost to pro-

pagate the gospel; for which he was miserably tormented, by having sharp reeds thrust under his nails; and then a knotty branch of a tree was forced into his body, and he expired in the most excruciating agony.

SECTION II.

PERSECUTIONS BY THE ARIAN HERETICS.

The sect denominated the Arian Heretics, had its origin from Arius,* a native of Lybia, and priest of Alexandria, who, in A. D. 318, began to publish his errors. He was condemned by a council of Lybian and Egyptian bishops, and the sentence was confirmed by the council of Nice, A. D. 325. After the death of Constantine the Great, the Arians found means to ingratiate themselves into the favour of Constantius, his son and successor in the East; and hence a persecution was raised against the orthodox bishops and clergy. The celebrated Athanasius, and other bishops, were banished at this period, and their sees filled with Arians.

In Egypt and Lybia, thirty bishops were martyred, and many other Christians cruelly tormented; and A. D. 336, George, the Arian bishop of Alexandria, under the authority of the emperor, began a persecution in that city, and its environs, which was continued with the utmost severity. He was assisted by Catophonius, governor of Egypt; Sebastian, general of the Egyptian forces; Faus-

* Arius, the founder of this sect of heretics, and the first cause of the persecutions which are related in this section, died miserably at Constantinople, just as he was about to enter the church in triumph.

tinus, the treasurer; and a Roman officer, named Hera-
olius. Indeed so fierce was this persecution, that the
clergy were driven from Alexandria, their churches were
shut, and the severities practised by the Arian heretics
were as great as those which had been exercised by the
pagan idolaters. If a man accused of being a Christian
made his escape, his whole family were massacred, and
his effects forfeited. By this means the orthodox Chris-
tians, being deprived of all places of public worship in
the city of Alexandria, used to perform their devotions
in a desert at some distance from it. On a Trinity-
Sunday, when they had met, George, the Arian bishop,
engaged Sebastian, the general, to fall upon them with
his soldiers, while they were at prayers; and many were
sacrificed to the fury of the troops, while others were
reserved for more cruel and lingering deaths; some were
beaten on their faces till all their features were disfigur-
ed; or were lashed with twigs of palm-trees, with such
violence, that they expired under the blows, or by the
mortification of the wounds. Several, whose lives had
been spared, were, however, banished to the deserts of
Africa, where, amidst all their sufferings, they passed
their time in prayer.

At this time, not satisfied with the cruelties exercised
upon the orthodox Christians in Alexandria, the prin-
cipal persecutors applied to the emperor for an order to
banish them from Egypt and Lybia, and to give up their
churches to the Arians: they obtained their request, and
an order was sent for that purpose to Sebastian, who
signified the emperor's pleasure to all the sub-governors
and officers. Hence a great number of the clergy were
seized and imprisoned; and it appearing that they adopted
the opinions of Athanasius, an order was signed for their
banishment into the desert. While the orthodox clergy

were thus used, many of the laity were condemned to the mines, or compelled to work in the quarries. Some few, indeed, escaped to other countries, and several were weak enough to renounce their faith, in order to avoid the severities of the persecutors.

SECTION III.

PERSECUTIONS UNDER JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

Julian the Apostate was the son of Julius Constantius, and the nephew of Constantine the Great. He studied the rudiments of grammar under the inspection of Mardonius, a eunuch, and a heathen. His father sent him afterwards to Nicomedia, to be instructed in the Christian religion, by Eusebius, his kinsman; but his principles were corrupted by the pernicious doctrines of Maximus the magician, and Ecebolius the professor of rhetoric.

Constantius died in the year 361, when Julian succeeded him; but he had no sooner attained the imperial dignity, than he renounced Christianity, and embraced paganism. He again restored idolatrous worship, by opening the several temples that had been shut up, rebuilding such as were destroyed, and ordering the magistrates and people to follow his example; but he did not issue any edicts against Christianity. He recalled all banished pagans, allowed the free exercise of religion to every sect, but deprived the Christians of all offices, civil and military, and the clergy of the privileges granted to them by Constantine the Great. He was chaste, temperate, vigilant, laborious, and apparently

pious; so that by his hypocrisy and pretended virtues, he for a time did more mischief to Christianity, than the most profligate of his predecessors.

Accordingly, this persecution was more dangerous than any of the former, as Julian, under the mask of clemency, practised the greatest cruelty, in seeking to delude the true believers; and the Christian faith was now in more danger of being subverted than it ever had been, by means of a monarch at once witty and wicked, learned and hypocritical; who, at first, made his attempts by flattering gifts and favours; bestowing offices and dignities; and then, by prohibiting Christian schools, he compelled the children either to become idolaters, or to remain illiterate.

Julian ordered that Christians might be treated coldly upon all occasions, and in all parts of the empire, and employed witty persons to turn them and their principles into ridicule. Many were likewise martyred in his reign; for though he did not publicly persecute them himself, he connived at their being murdered by his governors and officers; and though he affected never to reward them for those cruelties, neither did he ever punish them. We shall recount the names, sufferings and martyrdoms of some whose names have been transmitted to posterity.

CHRISTIANS FINED FOR REFUSING TO SACRIFICE TO IDOLS.

When Julian intended an expedition against the Persians, he imposed a large fine upon every one who refused to sacrifice to the idols, and by that means got a great sum from the Christians towards defraying his expenses. Many of the officers, in collecting these fines,

exacted more than their due, and some of them tortured the Christians to make them pay what they demanded, at the same time telling them in derision, "that when they were injured, they ought to take it patiently, for so their God had commanded them." The inhabitants of Cæsarea were fined in an immense sum, and several of the clergy obliged to serve in the wars, as a punishment for having overthrown the temples of Jupiter, Fortune and Apollo. The governor at Meris, in Phrygia, having cleansed and opened a pagan temple, the Christians in the night broke in, and demolished the idols. Next day the governor ordered all Christians that accidentally came in the way to be seized, that he might make examples of them, and by this means would have executed several innocent persons; but those who really perpetrated the act, being too just to suffer such retaliation, voluntarily delivered themselves up; when they were scourged severely, and then put upon gridirons and broiled to death.

Julian died of a wound which he received in his Persian expedition, A. D. 363, and even while expiring, uttered the most horrible blasphemies. He was succeeded by Jovian, who restored peace to the church. After the decease of Jovian, Valentinian succeeded to the empire, and associated to himself Valens, who had the command in the East. The latter was a great favourer of Arianism, and so incensed against the Christians, that he ordered, on a certain day, all who were found in Edessa to be slain, while they were at their devotions in the churches. The officers, however, being more compassionate than the emperor, privately gave notice to the Christians not to assemble on the day appointed, so that they might escape death.

The Christians thanked the officers for their advice,

but resolved to persevere in the performance of their duty. They accordingly repaired to the church, and the troops were put in motion to destroy them. As they marched along, a woman, with a child in her arms, broke through the ranks, when the officer ordered her to be brought before him, and asked her where she was going. She replied, "To church." "Have you not heard," says the officer, "of the emperor's order, to put to death all who are found there?" "I have," said she, "and for that cause I make the more haste." "And whither," said the officer, "do you lead that child?" "I take him," replied she, "with me, that he also may be reckoned in the number of the martyrs." Upon this the humane officer returned to the emperor, and telling him that all the Christians were prepared to die in defence of their faith, represented to him the rashness of murdering so great a multitude, and entreated the emperor to drop the design, at least for the present, with which he at length complied.

Urbanus, Menedemus, and Theodorus, with several other orthodox clergymen, to the number of fourscore, at Constantinople, petitioned the emperor to relieve them from the oppressions, persecutions, and cruelties of the Arians. But the tyrant, instead of redressing their grievances, ordered them all to be embarked in a ship, and the vessel to be set on fire; when this infernal order being executed, they all perished in the flames.

BOOK III.

HISTORY OF THE PERSECUTIONS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES, BETWEEN THE FIFTH AND THE TENTH CENTURIES.

SECTION I.

PERSECUTIONS FROM THE FIFTH TO THE SEVENTH CENTURIES.

PROTERIUS was made a priest by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria. On the death of Cyril, the see of Alexandria was filled by Dioscorus, an inveterate enemy both to the memory and family of his predecessor. Dioscorus, however, knowing the reputation of Proterius, and his great interest, did the utmost in his power to gain his confidence and favour, as he thought he might be of great service to him in carrying on his evil intentions; but Proterius was not to be corrupted, and no prospect of worldly preferment could bribe him to forego his duty. At length Dioscorus being condemned by the council of Chalcedon for having embraced the errors of Eutyches, was deposed, and Proterius chosen to fill the see, and approved of by the emperor. On this an insurrection broke out, for the city of Alexandria was divided into two factions; the one to espouse the cause of the old, and the other of the new prelate. Proterius was in imminent danger, from a set of schismatics, who would neither obey the decisions of a council, nor the emperor's commands.

INSURRECTION AT ALEXANDRIA.

These disorders becoming serious, the governor of Thebais marched with a body of troops, in order to quell them. The people, however, were in a kind of frenzy: when they heard of the approach of the governor they armed themselves, and marched out of Alexandria, gave him battle, and defeated him. The intelligence of this affair so exasperated the emperor, that he sent a detachment of two thousand men against them; the appearance of whom, and the prudence of the governor of Alexandria, whose name was Florus, soon restored peace to the city; nevertheless, the discontented party beheld Proterius with resentment; so that he was obliged to have a guard to secure his personal safety, and at length, though naturally of a mild temper, was compelled to excommunicate some of them, and obtain their banishment from Alexandria. But when the emperor Marcian's death, which happened two years after, gave a new turn to affairs, the exiles returned to Alexandria, renewed their cabals against Proterius, and seemed resolved to be revenged on him for what they had suffered. Timothy, a priest, who was at the head of all the designs that had been formed against Proterius, employed every art to ruin his credit, drawing the people from his communion, and raising himself to that see. At last, taking advantage of the absence of Dionysius, who commanded the forces of that province, and was then in Upper Egypt, he seized on the great church, and was uncanonically consecrated by two bishops of his faction, who had been deposed for heresy. He then continued the exercise of all the episcopal functions, till the commander's return, who, upon hearing the dis-

orders that had been committed, and that Timothy was the chief author of them, expelled him.

This affair so enraged the Eutychians, that they determined to wreak their vengeance on Proterius, who fled to the church for sanctuary: but on Good-Friday, A. D. 457, a large body of them rushed into the church, and murdered the prelate; after which they dragged the body through the streets, cut it to pieces, burnt it, and dispersed the ashes.

When the Vandals sacked Carthage, a lady, named Julia, was taken prisoner, and after being sold and resold as a slave, she became the property of a Syrian pagan, named Eusebius. Her master frequently took her with him upon his voyages: in one of these they touched upon the island of Corsica, where Eusebius joined in an idolatrous festival; but Julia kept from it. The heathens complained of this conduct as disrespectful to their gods, and informed the governor Felix of it, who sent for Eusebius, and demanded what young woman it was who had refused to join the worship to the gods.

Eusebius replied, that the young woman was a Christian, and that all his authority over her could not induce her to renounce her religion; but she was a very diligent and faithful servant.

Felix pressed him to exert himself, either to oblige her to assist at the pagan worship, or to part with her; and offered to give him his own price, or four of his best female slaves in exchange for her, which Eusebius refused. When Felix found him inflexible, he determined to get her into his power by artifice, and invited Eusebius to an entertainment, when having intoxicated him, he sent for Julia in the name of her master. The slave, not suspecting the design, immediately went; when the

governor told her that he would procure her liberty, if she would sacrifice to the heathen gods; but, not being able to prevail, he ordered her to be severely beaten, and finding her still resolute, he commanded that the hair of her head should be pulled up by the roots. This barbarity having no greater effect, he sentenced her to be hanged. Scarcely was Julia dead when Eusebius recovered from his intoxication, and understanding what had past, he in the first transports of his resentment thought of complaining to the emperor, who being a Christian, would have punished the perfidy of the governor; but reflecting that Felix had only acted with zeal for the deities he himself adored, he determined to put up with the loss, and retire from the place.

CRUELTY OF A KING TO HIS CHRISTIAN SON.

Hermenigildus, a Gothic prince, was the eldest son of Leovigildus, king of the Goths, in Spain. This prince, who was originally an Arian, became a convert to the orthodox faith, by means of his wife, whose name was Igonda. The king, on hearing that his son had changed his religious sentiments, stripped him of the command at Seville, where he was governor, and threatened to put him to death, unless he renounced the new faith. On this, the prince, in order to prevent the execution of his father's menaces, began to prepare for defence; and many of the orthodox persuasion in Spain declared on his side. The king, exasperated at this act of rebellion, began to punish all the orthodox Christians who could be seized; and thus originated a very severe persecution; he marched against his son at the head of a very powerful army; and knowing that he could not

oppose the formidable force that his father was bringing against him, he implored the assistance of the Roman troops that were left to garrison those parts of Spain which the emperor still possessed. The Roman commander undertook to assist Hermenigildus, but being bribed by the king, he broke his promise. Leovigildus then made it his business, as much as possible, to detach the orthodox Christians from the interest of his son; and in this he had great success, for it was effected in 581, by convening the Arian prelates at Toledo, who abolished the practice of re-baptizing those who came over to their sect; and he drew up a captious profession of faith, which deceived many, and prevailed upon them to quit the interest of Hermenigildus. Hence finding himself forsaken by numbers of those whom he most confided in, the prince was obliged to retreat towards Seville, in which city he soon after shut himself up, and sent to Constantinople for assistance from the emperor. The death of that monarch, however, prevented him from receiving any relief; for Maurice, who succeeded him, had no opportunity of affording any succour to Hermenigildus. The king immediately laid siege to Seville; the prince defended the place with great bravery, and held out for twelve months; but finding that the city must soon be taken, he privately made his escape, and fled to the Roman troops to beg protection; when being informed that they intended to give him up, he precipitately retired to Corduba, and from thence to Asseto, which he fortified. On the escape of the prince from Seville, that city surrendered, and the king having put a garrison in it, pursued his son, laid siege to Asseto, and soon obliged it to surrender. The prince being thus driven to extremities, flew to a church for sanctuary, when the king having a respect for the sanc-

tity of the place, sent an officer, named Reccaredus, to assure him of his pardon, upon his submitting to ask it. The prince believing his father to be sincere, immediately went to him, and threw himself at his feet: the king, however, instead of forgiving him, loaded him with chains, and carried him to Seville, where he endeavoured to make him renounce the Christian faith both by promises and menaces. Nevertheless, the prince remained true, and at the feast of Easter, when the king sent an Arian bishop to him to administer the eucharist, Hermenigildus refused to receive it; which so enraged the king, that he caused him to be cut to pieces by his guards, on the 13th of April, A. D. 586.

SECTION II.

PERSECUTIONS FROM THE EIGHTH TO THE TENTH CENTURY.

MASSACRES BY THE SARACENS.

Forty-two persons of Armorian, in Upper Phrygia, were martyred in the year 845, by the Saracens, the circumstances of which are thus related:

In the reign of Theophilus, the Saracens ravaged many parts of the eastern empire, gained considerable advantages over the Christians, and at length laid siege to the city of Armorian. The garrison bravely defended the place for a considerable time, and would have obliged their enemies to raise the siege, but the place was betrayed by a renegado. Many were put to the sword; and two general officers, with some persons of

distinction, were carried prisoners to Bagdat, where they were loaded with chains, and thrown into a dungeon. They continued in prison for some time without seeing any persons but their gaolers, having scarcely food enough for their subsistence. At length they were informed, that nothing could preserve their lives but renouncing their religion and embracing Mahometanism. To induce them to comply, the caliph pretended zeal for their welfare; and declared, that he looked upon converts in a more glorious light than conquests. Agreeably to these maxims, he sent some of the most artful of the Mahometans, with money and clothes, and the promise of other advantages which they might secure to themselves by an abjuration of Christianity; which, according to the casuistry of those infidels, might be made without quitting their faith; but the martyrs rejected the proposal with horror and contempt. After this they were attacked with that fallacious and delusive argument which the Mahometans still use in favour of themselves, and were desired to judge of the merits of the cause by the success of those that were engaged in it, and choose that religion which they saw flourished most, and was best rewarded with the good things of this life, which they called the blessings of heaven. Yet the noble prisoners were proof against all these temptations; and argued strenuously against the authority of the false prophet. This incensed the Mahometans, and drew greater hardships upon the Christians during their confinement, which lasted seven years. Boidizius, the renegado who had betrayed Armorian, then brought them the welcome news that their sufferings would conclude in martyrdom the next day: when taken from their dungeon, they were again solicited to embrace the tenets of Mahomet; but neither threats nor

promises could induce them to espouse the doctrines of an impostor. Perceiving that their faith could not by any means be shaken, the caliph ordered them to be executed. Theodore, one of the number, had formerly received priest's orders, and officiated as a clergyman; but afterwards quitting the church, he had followed a military life, and raised himself by the sword to some considerable posts, which he enjoyed at the time he was taken prisoner. The officer who attended the execution, being apprized of these circumstances, said to Theodore, "You might, indeed, pretend to be ranked amongst the Christians, while you served in their church as a priest; but the profession you have taken up, which engages you in bloodshed, is so contrary to your former employment, that you should not now think of passing upon us for one of that religion. When you quitted the altar for the camp, you renounced Jesus Christ. Why then will you dissemble any longer? Would you not act more conformably to your own principles, and make your conduct all of a piece, if you came to a resolution of saving your life by owning our great prophet?"

Theodore, covered with religious confusion at this reproach, but still unshaken in his faith, made the following answer: "It is true," said he, "I did in some measure abandon my God when I engaged in the army, and scarce deserve the name of a Christian. But the Almighty has given me the grace to see myself in a true light, and made me sensible of my fault; and I hope he will be pleased to accept my life as the only sacrifice I can now offer to expiate my guilt." This pious answer confounded the officer, who only replied, that he should presently have an opportunity of giving that proof of his fidelity to his master. Upon which, Theodore and the rest, forty-two in number, were beheaded.

MARTYRDOM OF TWO LADIES.

Two ladies of distinction, Mary and Flora, suffered martyrdom at the same time. Flora was the daughter of an eminent Mahometan, at Seville; from whence he removed to Corduba, where the Saracen king resided, and kept his court. Her father dying when she was young, Flora was left to the care of her mother, who, being a Christian, brought her up in the true faith, and inspired her with sentiments of virtue and religion. Her brother being a professed enemy to Christianity, and of a barbarous and savage temper, Flora was for some time obliged to use great caution in the practice of such virtues as must have exposed her to a persecution. She was too zealous to bear this restraint long; for which reason she left Corduba, in company with her sister. Her departure soon alarmed her brother, who guessed her motives, and, in revenge, informed against several Christians of Corduba; for as he did not know whither his sister was gone, he determined to wreak his vengeance on such Christians as were present. When Flora was informed of these proceedings, she considered herself as the cause of what the Christians had suffered at Corduba, and having an interior conviction that God called her to fight for her faith, she returned to that city, and proceeded to the persecutors, among whom she found her brother. "If," said she, "I am the object of your inquiry, if the servants of God are tormented on my account, I now freely offer myself to your disposal. I declare, that I believe in Jesus Christ, glory in his cross, and profess the doctrine which he taught." None of the company seemed so much enraged at this declaration as her brother, who after some threats, struck her; but afterwards endeavoured to gain her by expressions of pretended kindness.

Finding her insensible to all he could say, he insinuated, that Flora had been educated in the religion of Mahomet, but had renounced it at the suggestion of some Christians, who inspired her with the utmost contempt for the great prophet. When she was called on to answer to the charge, she declared she had never owned Mahomet, but sucked the Christian religion in with her milk, and was entirely devoted to the Redeemer of mankind. The magistrate, finding her resolute, delivered her to her brother, and gave him orders to use his utmost endeavours to make her a Mahometan. She, however, soon found an opportunity of escaping over a wall in the night, and of secreting herself in the house of a Christian. She then withdrew to Tucci, a village of Andalusia, where she met with her sister, and they never separated again till her martyrdom.

Mary, who was martyred at the same time, was the daughter of a Christian tradesman at Estremadura, who afterwards removed to a town near Corduba. When the persecution began under Abderrama, king of the Saracens, in Spain, Mary's brother was one who fell a victim to the rage of the infidels on that occasion. Mary, hearing of his martyrdom, and filled with confusion at being left behind by one so much younger than herself, went to Corduba, where, going into a church, she found Flora, who had left her retreat on the same motive. On conversing together, and finding they acted upon the same heroic principles, and proposed the same glorious end of their labours, they agreed to go together, and declare their faith before the judge. Accordingly they proceeded to the magistrate, when Flora boldly told him, she looked on Mahomet as no better than a false prophet, an adulterer, and magician. Mary also told the magistrate, that she professed the same faith, and enter-

tained the same sentiments as Flora, and that she was sister to Walabonzus, who had already suffered for being a Christian. This behaviour so much enraged the magistrate, that he ordered them to be committed to prison for some time, and then to be beheaded: which sentence was executed on the 4th of November, A. D. 850.

ADALBERT, BISHOP OF PRAGUE.

Adalbert, bishop of Prague, was a Bohemian by birth. His parents were persons of rank, but more distinguished for their virtue and piety than for their opulence and lineage. They had the highest expectations of their son, and gave him a good education; but their joy was damped, by his falling into a dropsy, from which he was with difficulty recovered. When cured, they sent him to Magdeburg, and committed him to the care of the archbishop of that city, who completed his education. The rapid progress which Adalbert made in human and divine learning, made him dear to the prelate, who, to the authority of a teacher, joined all the tenderness of a parent. Having spent nine years at Magdeburg, he retired to his own country upon the death of the archbishop, and entered himself among the clergy at Prague. Dithmar, bishop of Prague, died soon after the return of Adalbert to that city; and, in his last moments, expressed great contrition for having been ambitious and solicitous of worldly honours and riches: Adalbert, who was among the number present, was so sensibly affected at the bishop's dying sentiments, that he received them as an admonition to the strict practice of virtue, which he afterwards exercised with the greatest attention, spend-

ing his time in prayer, and relieving the poor with his fortune.

Soon after the decease of Dithmar, an assembly was held for the choice of a successor, which consisted of the clergy of Prague, and the nobility of Bohemia. Adalbert's character determined them to raise him to the vacant see, which they did on the 19th of February, 983, and immediately despatched messengers to Verona, to desire Otho II. would confirm the election. The emperor granted the request, ordered Adalbert to repair to court for investiture, gave him the ring and crosier, and then sent him to the archbishop of Mentz for consecration. That ceremony was performed on the 29th of June the same year; and he was received at Prague with great demonstrations of public joy. He divided the revenue of his see into four parts, according to the direction of the canons extant in the fifth century. The first was employed in the building and ornaments of the church; the second went to the maintenance of the clergy; the third was laid out for the relief of the poor; and the fourth reserved for the support of himself and family; which was always made to include twelve indigent persons, to whom he allowed daily subsistence. He performed his duty with the utmost assiduity, and spent a great portion of his time in preaching to and exhorting the people. His conduct was discreet and humane; and his manner neither too severe nor too indulgent. Yet some things which he could not remedy gave him great uneasiness, particularly the having a plurality of wives, and selling the Christians to the Jews for trivial offences. Hence he determined to consult the pope, and made a journey to Rome. John, who then occupied the papal chair, received him with cordiality, and advised him to give up his bishopric, rather than be the witness of

enormities which he could not remedy. He, in consequence, determined to take the pope's advice, and to devote the remainder of his days to mortification and silence; and began by giving all his treasures to the poor. He was, however, before he entirely secluded himself from mankind, desirous of seeing the Holy Land, and set off accordingly in company with three persons.

On their way they arrived at Mount Cassino, where the chiefs of the monastery of that place received them in a very friendly manner, and being apprized of the cause of their journey, when they were about to depart, the superior of the monastery addressed himself to Adalbert, and observed to him, that the journey he had undertaken would give him more trouble and uneasiness than he was aware of; that the frequent desire of travelling, often proceeded more from a restless disposition, than real religion. "Therefore," said he, "if you will listen to my advice, leave the world at once with sincerity, and settle in some religious community, without desiring to see more than you have already seen." Adalbert adopted the sentiments of the superior, and took up his residence in that monastery, where he then thought he might live entirely recluse; but he was mistaken; for the priests, by accident, coming to a knowledge of the rank and former dignity of their colleague, began to treat him with great deference and respect, which occasioned him to leave the place. Nilus, a Grecian, being then at the head of a community not far from Mount Cassino, Adalbert went to him, and begged to be received into his monastery. He assured him he would willingly comply with his request, if the practice of his religious family would be agreeable to him; he told him that the house in which he and his people lived was given to them by those of Mount Cassino; and therefore

it might not be safe for him to receive one that had left that community, but he advised him to return to Rome, and apply to Leo, an abbot of his acquaintance there, to whom he gave him a letter of recommendation. Adalbert went to Rome, where he found Leo, who, after putting his virtue and courage to proper trials, conducted him to the pope, and, with the consent of that pontiff and the whole college of cardinals, gave him the habit on Holy Thursday in the year 990. We have already said, that he had been attended only by three select persons ever since he had the pope's advice for resigning his bishopric; two of them now left him; but the third, who was his brother, Gaudentius, followed his example, and engaged in the same community. Adalbert, full of humility, took a particular pleasure in the lowest employments of the house, and lived an excellent pattern of Christian simplicity and obedience.

The archbishop of Mentz, the metropolitan, being exceedingly afflicted at the disorders in the church of Prague, and wishing for the return of the bishop, with whose retreat he was not, for some time, acquainted, after five years absence, heard that Adalbert was at Rome, when he sent a deputation to the pope, to press his return to his diocese. The pope summoned a council to consider of the deputation, and after a warm dispute between the monks and deputies, the latter carried their point, and Adalbert was ordered to return to his diocese; but, at the same time, had permission to quit his charge again, if he found his flock as incorrigible as before. The inhabitants of Prague met him, on his arrival, with great joy, and promised obedience to his directions; but they soon forgot their promises, and relapsed into their former vices, which obliged him, a second time, to leave them, and return to his monastery. Nevertheless, the arch-

bishop of Mentz sent another deputation to Rome, and desired that his suffragan might be again ordered back to his diocese. Gregory V. who was then pope, commanded him to return to Prague; and, with great reluctance, he obeyed.

The Bohemians, however, did not look upon him as before, but deemed him the censor of their faults, and the enemy of their pleasures, and threatened him with death upon his arrival; but not having him yet in their power, they murdered several of his relations, plundered their estates, and set fire to their houses. Adalbert had intelligence of these outrageous proceedings, and did not judge it prudent to proceed on his journey. He therefore went to the duke of Poland, who had a particular respect for him, and engaged that prince to sound the Bohemians in regard to his return; but could get no better answer from that wretched people, than "that they were sinners, hardened in iniquity; and Adalbert a saint, and consequently not fit to live among them; for which reason he was not to hope for a tolerable reception at Prague." The bishop thought this message discharged him from any farther concern for that church, and began to direct his thoughts to the conversion of infidels; for which purpose he repaired to Dantzic, where he converted and baptized many, which so enraged the pagan priests, that they fell upon him, and despatched him with darts, on the 23d of April, A. D. 997.

BOOK IV.

SECTION I.

**PERSECUTIONS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES, FROM THE
ELEVENTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.**

PERSECUTIONS IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

ACCOUNT OF ARCHBISHOP ALPHAGE.

ALPHAGE, archbishop of Canterbury, came from a considerable family in Gloucestershire, and received an education suitable to his birth.

When Alphage had governed the see of Canterbury about four years with great reputation, the Danes made an incursion into England. Ethelred, who then reigned, was a prince of a very weak mind, and pusillanimous disposition. Being afraid to face the enemy himself, and too irresolute to furnish others with the means of acting, he suffered his country to be ravaged with impunity, and the greatest depredations to be committed by the enemy.

Upon this occasion, the archbishop Alphage acted with great resolution and humanity; he went boldly to the Danes, purchased the freedom of several whom they had made captives; found means to send food to others, whom he had not money enough to redeem, and even made converts of some of the Danes: but the latter cir-

cumstance made the Danes, who still continued pagans, greater enemies to him than they would otherwise have been, and they were determined to be revenged on him. Edric, an English malcontent and traitor, gave the Danes every encouragement, and assisted them in laying siege to Canterbury. When the design of attacking that city was known, many of the principal people made a precipitate flight from it, and would have persuaded Alphage to follow their example; but he would not listen to such a proposal; assured them he could not think of abandoning his flock at a time when his presence was more necessary than ever, and was resolved to hazard his life in their defence. While he was employed in assisting his people, Canterbury was taken by storm; the enemy poured into the town, and destroyed all that came in their way. The monks endeavoured to detain the archbishop in the church, where they hoped he might be safe. But his concern for his flock made him break from them, and run into the midst of the danger. On this occasion he addressed the enemy, begging the people might be saved, and that he alone might be their victim. The barbarians seized him, tied his hands, insulted and abused him, and obliged him to remain on the spot till his church was burnt, and the monks massacred. They then decimated all the inhabitants, both ecclesiastics and laymen, leaving only every tenth person alive: so that they put 7236 persons to death, and left only four monks and 800 laymen alive: after which they confined the archbishop in a dungeon, where they kept him for several months. During his confinement, they proposed to him to purchase his liberty with the sum of 3000*l*. and to persuade the king to procure their departure out of the kingdom with a farther sum of 10,000*l*. Alphage's circumstances not allowing him to satisfy the exorbitant

demand, they bound him, and put him to severe torments, to oblige him to discover the treasure of his church. But he remaining inflexible, they remanded him to prison again, confined him six days longer, and then taking him with them to Greenwich, brought him to trial. Here he exhorted them to forsake their idolatry, and embrace Christianity. This so enraged them, that the soldiers dragged him out of the camp, and beat him unmercifully. Alphage bore this treatment patiently, and even prayed for his persecutors. One of the soldiers, who had been converted and baptized by him, was greatly afflicted that his pains should be so lingering, as he knew his death was determined on: he, therefore, in a kind of barbarous compassion, cut off his head, and thus put the finishing stroke to his martyrdom. This happened on April 19, A. D. 1012, on the very spot where the church of Greenwich, which is dedicated to him, now stands. After his death, his body was thrown into the Thames, but being found the next day, it was buried in the cathedral of St. Paul's, by the bishops of London and Lincoln: from whence it was, in the year 1023, moved to Canterbury by Æthelnoth, the archbishop of that province.

STANISLAUS.

Bolisläus the second, king of Poland, had many good qualities, but giving way too much to his passions, he committed many enormities, till from being deemed a good king, he at last acquired the appellation of CRUEL. The nobility were shocked at his conduct, and the clergy saw his proceedings with grief; but Stanislaus alone had the courage to tell him of his faults. The

king was greatly exasperated at this freedom; but awed by the virtues of the bishop, he dissembled his resentment, and appearing to be convinced of his errors, promised to reform his conduct. He, soon after, attempted the chastity of a married lady, who rejecting his offers with disdain, he violated her by force. This iniquitous act greatly incensed the nobility; they assembled, and, calling the clergy to their assistance, entreated Peter, archbishop of Gresne, to remonstrate to the king on the impropriety of his conduct. The archbishop, however, declined the task; for though virtuous, he was timid. Several other prelates imitated his example, and Stanislaus was, as before, the only one who had courage and zeal sufficient to perform what he looked upon as an indispensable duty. He, therefore, put himself at the head of a number of ecclesiastics, noblemen, and gentlemen; and solemnly addressed the king on the heinousness of his crime. Bolislaus, violently irritated, threatened the prelate with his severest vengeance; but Stanislaus, unimpressed by his menaces, visited him twice more, and remonstrated with him in a similar manner, which increased his wrath.

The nobility and clergy, finding that the admonitions of the bishop had not the desired effect upon the king, thought proper to interpose. The nobility entreated the bishop to refrain from any further exasperating a monarch of so ferocious a temper; and the clergy endeavoured to persuade the king not to be offended with Stanislaus for his charitable remonstrances. But the haughty sovereign determined at any rate to get rid of a prelate, who, in his opinion, was too censorious; and hearing that the bishop was alone, in the chapel of St. Michael, at a small distance from the town, he despatched some soldiers to murder him. The men readily under-

took the task; but when they came into the presence of Stanislaus, the venerable aspect of the prelate struck them with such awe, that they could not perform what they had promised. On their return, the king, finding they had not obeyed his orders, snatched a dagger from one of them, and ran furiously to the chapel, where, finding Stanislaus at the altar, he plunged the weapon into his heart. This took place on the 8th of May, A. D. 1079.

SECTION II.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE WALDENSES IN FRANCE.

Before this time the church of Christ was tainted with many of the errors of popery, and superstition began to predominate; but a few, who perceived the pernicious tendency of such errors, determined to show the light of the gospel in its real purity, and to disperse those clouds which crafty priests had raised about it, in order to delude the people. The principal of these worthies was Berengarius, who, about the year 1000, boldly preached gospel truths according to their primitive purity. Many, from conviction, went over to his doctrine, and were, on that account, called Berengarians. Berengarius was succeeded by Peter Bruis, who preached at Toulouse, under the protection of an earl, named Hildephonsus; and the whole tenets of the reformers, with the reasons of their separation from the church of Rome, were published in a book written by Bruis under the title of **ANTI-CHRIST.**

In the year 1140, the number of the reformed was

very great, and the probability of their increasing alarmed the pope, who wrote to several princes to banish them their dominions, and employed many learned men to write against them.

In 1147, Henry of Toulouse, being deemed their most eminent preacher, they were called Henricians; and as they would not admit of any proofs relative to religion but what could be deduced from the Scriptures themselves, the popish party gave them the name of Apostolics. Peter Waldo, or Valdo, a native of Lyons, at this time became a strenuous opposer of popery: and from him the reformed received the appellation of Waldos, or Waldenses. Waldo was a man eminent for his learning and benevolence; and his doctrines were adopted by multitudes. The bishop of Lyons taking umbrage at the freedom with which he treated the pope and the Romish clergy, sent to admonish him to refrain in future from such discourses; but Waldo answered, "That he could not be silent in a cause of such importance as the salvation of men's souls; wherein he must obey God, rather than man."

ACCUSATIONS OF PETER WALDO AGAINST POPERY.

His principal accusations against the Roman Catholics were, that they affirm the church of Rome to be the only infallible church of Christ upon earth; and that the pope is its head, and the vicar of Christ; that they hold the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, insisting that the bread and wine given in the sacrament is the very identical body and blood of Christ which was nailed to the cross; that they believe there is a place called purgatory, where the souls of persons, after this

life, are purged from the sins of mortality, and that the pains and penalties here inflicted may be abated according to the masses said by and the money paid to the priests; that they teach, the communion of one kind, or the receiving the wafer only, is sufficient for the lay people, though the clergy must be indulged with both bread and wine; that they pray to the Virgin Mary and saints, though their prayers ought to be immediately to God; that they pray for souls departed, though God decides their fate immediately on the decease of the person; that they will not perform the service of the church in a language understood by the people in general; that they place their devotion in the number of prayers, and not in the intent of the heart; that they forbid marriage to the clergy, though God allowed it; and that they use many things in baptism, though Christ used only water. When Pope Alexander the Third was informed of these transactions, he excommunicated Waldo and his adherents, and commanded the bishop of Lyons to exterminate them: thus began the papal persecutions against the Waldenses.

TENETS OF THE WALDENSES.

1. That holy oil is not to be mingled in baptism.
2. That prayers used over things inanimate are superstitious.
3. Flesh may be eaten in Lent; the clergy may marry; and auricular confession is unnecessary.
4. Confirmation is no sacrament; we are not bound to pay obedience to the pope; ministers should live upon tithes; no dignity sets one clergyman above another, for their superiority can only be drawn from real worth.

5. Images in churches are absurd; image-worship is idolatry; the pope's indulgences ridiculous; and the miracles pretended to be done by the church of Rome are false.

6. Fornication and public stews ought not to be allowed; purgatory is a fiction; and deceased persons, called saints, ought not to be prayed to.

7. Extreme unction is not a sacrament; and masses, indulgences, and prayers, are of no service to the dead.

8. The Lord's prayer ought to be the rule of all other prayers.

Waldo remained three years undiscovered in Lyons, though the utmost diligence was used to apprehend him; but at length he found an opportunity of escaping from the place of his concealment to the mountains of Dauphiny. He soon after found means to propagate his doctrines in Dauphiny and Picardy, which so exasperated Philip, king of France, that he put the latter province, which contained most of the sectaries, under military execution; destroying above 300 gentlemen's seats, erasing some walled towns, burning many of the reformed, and driving others into Flanders and Germany.

Notwithstanding these persecutions, the reformed religion seemed to flourish; and the Waldenses, in various parts, became more numerous than ever. At length the pope accused them of heresy, and the monks of immorality. These slanders, they, however, refuted; but the pope, incensed at their increase, used all means for their extirpation; such as excommunications, anathemas, canons, constitutions, decrees, &c. by which they were rendered incapable of holding places of trust, honour, or profit; their lands were seized, their goods confiscated, and they were not permitted to be buried in con-

secrated ground. Some of the Waldenses having taken refuge in Spain, Aldephonsus, king of Arragon, at the instigation of the pope, published an edict, strictly ordering all Roman Catholics to persecute them wherever they could be found; and decreeing that all who gave them the least assistance should be deemed traitors.

The year after this edict Aldephonsus was severely punished by the hand of Providence; for his son was defeated in a great battle, and 50,000 of his men slain, by which a considerable portion of his kingdom fell into the hands of the Moors.

The reformed ministers continued to preach boldly against the Romish church; and Peter Waldo, in particular, wherever he went, asserted, that the pope was anti-christ, that mass was an abomination, that the host was an idol, and that purgatory was a fable.

ORIGIN OF THE INQUISITION.

These proceedings of Waldo, and his reformed companions, occasioned the origin of inquisitors; for pope Innocent III. authorized certain monks inquisitors, to find and deliver over the reformed to the secular power. The monks, upon the least surmise or information, gave up the reformed to the magistrate, who delivered them to the executioner; for the process was short, as accusation supplied the place of evidence, and a fair trial was never granted to the accused.

CRUELITIES OF THE POPE, AND ARTIFICES OF DOMINIC.

When the pope found that these cruel means had not the desired effect, he determined to try others of a milder

nature; he therefore sent several learned monks to preach among the Waldenses, and induce them to change their opinions. Among these monks was one Dominic, who appeared extremely zealous in the cause of popery. He instituted an order, which, from him, was called the order of Dominican friars; and the members of this order have ever since been the principal inquisitors in every country into which that horrible tribunal has been introduced. Their power was unlimited; they proceeded against whom they pleased, without any consideration of age, sex, or rank. However infamous the accusers, the accusation was deemed valid; and even anonymous informations were thought sufficient evidence. The dearest friends or kindred could not, without danger, serve any one who was imprisoned on account of religion; to convey to those who were confined a little straw, or give them a cup of water, was called favouring the heretics; no lawyer dared to plead even for his own brother, or notary register any thing in favour of the reformed. The malice of the papists, indeed, went beyond the grave, and the bones of many Waldenses, who had been long dead, were dug up and burnt. If a man on his death-bed were accused of being a follower of Waldo, his estates were confiscated, and the heir defrauded of his inheritance; and some were even obliged to make pilgrimages to the Holy Land, while the Dominicans took possession of their houses and property, which they refused to surrender to the owners upon their return.

PERSECUTIONS IN DAUPHINY.

In 1400, the Waldenses who resided in the valley of Pragela, were, at the instigation of some priests, sud-

denly attacked by a body of troops, who plundered their houses, murdered many, and drove others into the Alps, where great numbers were frozen to death, it being in the depth of winter. In 1460, a persecution was carried on in Dauphiny against the Waldenses, by the archbishop of Ambrune, who employed a monk, named John Vayleti, who proceeded with such violence, that not only the Waldenses, but even many papists, were sufferers: for if any of them expressed compassion or pity for the inoffensive people, who were so cruelly treated, they were accused of favouring the Waldenses, and punished. At length Vayleti's proceedings became so intolerable, that a great number of the papists themselves addressed a petition against him to Louis XI. king of France, who granted the request of the petitioners, and sent an order to the governor of Dauphiny to stop the persecution. Vayleti, however, by order of the archbishop, still continued it; for, taking advantage of the last clause of the edict, he pretended that he did nothing contrary to the king's precept, who had ordered punishment to such as affirmed any thing against the holy catholic faith. This persecution at length concluded with the death of the archbishop, which happened in 1487.

ATTEMPTS OF THE POPE TO EXTERMINATE THE WAL- DENSES.

Pope Innocent VIII. in 1488, determined to persecute the Waldenses. To this end he sent Albert de Capitaneis, archdeacon of Cremona, to France; who, on arriving in Dauphiny, craved the assistance of the king's lieutenant to exterminate the Waldenses from the valley

of Loyse: the lieutenant readily granted his assistance, and marched a body of troops to the place; but when they arrived at the valley, they found that it had been deserted by the inhabitants, who had retired to the mountains, and hid themselves in caverns, &c. The archdeacon and lieutenant immediately followed them with the troops, and apprehending many, they cast them headlong from the precipices, by which they were dashed to pieces. Several, however, retired to the innermost parts of the caverns, and knowing the intricacies, were able to conceal themselves. The archdeacon and lieutenant, not being able to come at them, ordered the mouths of the caves to be filled with faggots, which being lighted, those within were suffocated. On searching the caves, 400 infants were found smothered, either in their cradles or in their mothers' arms; and, upon the whole, about 3000 men, women, and children, were destroyed in this persecution.

After this tragical work, the lieutenant and archdeacon proceeded with the troops to Pragela and Frassanier, in order to persecute the Waldenses in those parts. But these having heard of the fate of their brethren in the valley of Loyse, thought proper to arm themselves; and by fortifying the different passes, and bravely disputing the passages through them, they so harrassed the troops, that the lieutenant was compelled to retire without effecting his purpose.

THE KING OF FRANCE FAVOURS THE WALDENSES.

In 1494, Anthony Fabri, and Christopher de Salience, having a commission to persecute the Waldenses of Dauphiny, put some to death, sequestered the estates of

others, and confiscated the goods of many; but Louis XII. coming to the crown in 1498, the Waldenses petitioned him for a restitution of their property. The king determined to have the affair impartially canvassed, and sent a commissioner of his own, together with a commissary from the pope, to make the proper inquiries. The witnesses against the Waldenses having been examined, the innocence of those poor people evidently appeared, and the king's commissioner declared, "That he only desired to be as good a Christian as the worst of them." When this favourable report was made to the king, he immediately gave orders that the Waldenses should have their property restored to them. The archbishop of Ambrune, having the greatest quantity of these poor people's goods, it was generally imagined that he would set a laudable example to others, by being the first to restore them. The archbishop, however, declared, that he would not restore any of the property, for it was incorporated with, and become part of his archbishopric. He, however, with an affectation of candour, offered to relinquish several vineyards, of which he had dispossessed the Waldenses, provided the lords of Dauphiny would restore all they had taken from those poor people; but this the lords absolutely refused, being as desirous of keeping their plunder as the archbishop himself.

The Waldenses finding that they were not likely to recover any of their property, again appealed to the king; and the monarch having attended to their complaints, wrote to the archbishop; but that artful and avaricious prelate replied, "That at the commencement of the persecution the Waldenses had been excommunicated by the pope, in consequence of which their goods were distrained; therefore, till the sentence of excom-

munication was taken off, which had occasioned them to be seized, they could not be restored with propriety." This plea was allowed to be reasonable; and application was ineffectually made to the pope to remove the sentence of excommunication; for the archbishop, supposing this would be the case, had used all his interest at Rome to prevent the application from succeeding.

PROGRESS OF THE WALDENSES.

At length this sect having spread from Dauphiny into several other provinces, became very numerous in Provence. At their first arrival, Provence was almost a desert, but by their great industry it soon abounded with corn, wine, oil, fruit, &c. The pope, by being often near them at his seat at Avignon, heard occasionally many things concerning their differing from the church of Rome, which greatly exasperated him, and he determined to persecute them. Proceeding to some extremities, under the sanction of his ecclesiastical authority only, without consulting the king of France, the latter became alarmed, and sent his master of requests, and his confessor, to examine into the affair. On their return they reported that the Waldenses were not such dangerous or bad people as they had been represented; that they lived with perfect honesty, were friendly to all, caused their children to be baptised, had them taught the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments; expounded the scriptures with purity, kept the Lord's day sacred, feared God, honoured the king, and wished well to the state. "Then," said the king, "they are much better Christians than myself or my catholic subjects, and therefore they shall not be persecuted. He was as good as his word, and sent orders to stop the persecution.

SECTION III.

PERSECUTION OF THE ALBIGENSES.

The Albigenses were people of the reformed religion, who inhabited the country of Albi. They were condemned on account of religion, in the council of Lateran, by order of pope Alexander III.; but they increased so prodigiously, that many cities were inhabited by persons only of their persuasion, and several eminent nobleman embraced their doctrines. Among the latter were Raymond, earl of Toulouse, Raymond, earl of Foix, the earl of Bezieres, &c. The pope, at length, pretended that he wished to draw them to the Romish faith by sound argument and clear reasoning, and for this end ordered a general disputation; in which, however, the popish doctors were entirely overcome by the arguments of Arnold, a reformed clergyman, whose reasonings were so strong, that they were compelled to confess their force.

PERSECUTION OF THE EARL OF TOULOUSE.

A friar, named Peter, having been murdered in the dominions of the earl of Toulouse, the pope made the murder a pretence to persecute that nobleman and his subjects. He sent persons throughout all Europe, in order to raise forces to act coercively against the Albigenses, and promised Paradise to all who would assist in this war, (which he termed holy,) and bear arms for forty days. The same indulgences were held out to all who entered for this purpose, as to such as engaged in crusades to the Holy Land. The pope likewise sent orders to all archbishops, bishops, &c. to excommunicate

the earl of Toulouse every Sabbath and festival; at the same time absolving all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance to him, and commanding them to pursue his person, possess his lands, destroy his property, and murder such of his subjects as continued faithful to him. The earl of Toulouse, hearing of these mighty preparations against him, wrote to the pope in a very candid manner, desiring not to be condemned unheard, and assuring him that he had not the least hand in Peter's death: for that friar was killed by a gentleman, who, immediately after the murder, fled out of his territories. But the pope, being determined on his destruction, was resolved not to hear his defence: and a formidable army, with several noblemen and prelates at the head of it, began its march against the Albigenses. The earl had only the alternative to oppose force by force, or submit: and as he despaired of success in attempting the former, he determined on the latter. The pope's legate being at Valence, the earl repaired thither, and said, "He was surprised that such a number of armed men should be sent against him, before the least proof of his guilt had been deduced. He therefore came voluntarily to surrender himself, armed only with the testimony of a good conscience, and hoped that the troops would be prevented from plundering his innocent subjects, as he thought himself a sufficient pledge for any vengeance they chose to take on account of the death of the friar." The legate replied, that he was very glad the earl had voluntarily surrendered: but, with respect to the proposal, he could not pretend to countermand the orders to the troops, unless he would consent to deliver up seven of his best fortified castles as securities for his future behaviour. At this demand the earl perceived his error in submitting, but it was too late; he knew him-

self to be a prisoner, and therefore sent an order for the delivery of the castles. The pope's legate had no sooner garrisoned these places, than he ordered the respective governors to appear before him. When they came, he said, "That the earl of Toulouse having delivered up his castles to the pope, they must consider that they were now the pope's subjects, and not the earl's; and that they must therefore act conformably to their new allegiance." The governors were greatly astonished to see their lord thus in chains, and themselves compelled to act in a manner so contrary to their inclinations and consciences. But the subsequent treatment of the earl afflicted them still more; for he was stripped nearly naked, led nine times round the grave of friar Peter, and severely scourged before all the people. Not contented with this, the legate obliged him to swear that he would be obedient to the pope during the remainder of his life, conform to the church of Rome, and make irreconcilable war against the Albigenes; and even ordered him, by the oaths he had newly taken, to join the troops, and inspect the siege of Beziers. But thinking this too hard an injunction, he took an opportunity privately to quit the army, and determined to go to the pope and relate the ill usage he had received.

SIEGE OF BEZIERES.

The army, however, proceeded to besiege Beziers; and the earl of Beziers, who was governor of that city, thinking it impossible to defend the place, came out, and presenting himself before the legate, implored mercy for the inhabitants; intimating, that there were as many Roman catholics as Albigenes in the city. The legate

replied, that all excuses were useless; the place must be delivered up at discretion, or the most dreadful consequences would ensue.

The earl of Beziers returning into the city, told the inhabitants he could obtain no mercy, unless the Albigenses would abjure their religion, and conform to the worship of the church of Rome. The Roman catholics pressed the Albigenses to comply with this request; but the Albigenses nobly answered, that they would not forsake their religion for the base price of their frail life: that God was able, if he pleased, to defend them; but if he would be glorified by the confession of their faith, it would be a great honour to them to die for his sake. They added, that they had rather displease the pope, who could but kill their bodies, than God, who could cast both body and soul into hell. On this the popish party, finding their importunities ineffectual, sent their bishop to the legate, beseeching him not to include them in the chastisement of the Albigenses; and representing, that the best means to win the latter over to the Roman catholic persuasion, was by gentleness, and not by rigour. The legate, upon hearing this, flew into a violent passion with the bishop, and declared that, "If all the city did not acknowledge their fault, they should taste of one curse without distinction of religion, sex, or age."

HORRID CRUELITIES ON TAKING THE TOWN.

The inhabitants refusing to yield upon such terms, a general assault was made, and the place taken by storm, when every cruelty that barbarous superstition could devise was practised; nothing was to be heard, but the groans of men, who lay weltering in their blood, the

lamentations of mothers, who, after being violated by the soldiery, had their children taken from them, and dashed to pieces before their faces. The city being fired in various parts, new scenes of confusion arose; in several places the streets were streaming with blood. Those who hid themselves in their dwellings, had only the dreadful alternative to remain and perish in the flames, or rush out and fall by the swords of the soldiers. The bloody legate, during these infernal proceedings, enjoyed the carnage, and even cried out to the troops, "Kill them, kill them all; kill man, woman, and child; kill Roman Catholics as well as Albigenes, for when they are dead the Lord knows how to pick out his own." Thus the beautiful city of Beziers was reduced to a heap of ruins; and 60,000 persons were murdered.

ANOTHER PERSECUTION.

From this period we find little further account of the Albigenes till the commencement of the seventeenth century; but although they are not distinctly mentioned, they suffered, in common with their protestant brethren, at various times; and in 1620, a cruel persecution was commenced against them.

At a town called Tell, while the minister was preaching to a congregation of the reformed, the papists attacked and murdered many of the people. A lady of considerable eminence, being exhorted to change her religion, if not for her own sake, at least for that of the infant she held in her arms, said, with undaunted courage, "I did not quit Italy, my native country, nor forsake the estates I had there, for the sake of Jesus Christ, to renounce him here. With respect to my in-

fant, why should I not deliver him up to death, since God delivered up his son to die for us?" As soon as she had done speaking, they took the child from her, delivered it to a popish nurse to bring up, and then cut the mother to pieces.

Dominico Berto, a youth of sixteen, refusing to turn papist, was set upon an ass with his face to the tail, which he was obliged to hold in his hand. In this condition he was led to the market-place, amidst the acclamations of the populace; after which they cut off his nose, ears, and cheeks, and burnt holes in several parts of his body till he at last died. An Albigense young lady, of noble family, was seized by the papists, and carried through the streets with a paper mitre upon her head. After mocking, beating her, and smearing her face with dirt, they bade her call upon the saints; to which she replied, "My trust and salvation is in Christ only; for even the virgin Mary, without the merits of her son, could not be saved." On this the multitude fell upon and destroyed her.

Many other horrible cruelties were perpetrated by these bigoted monsters; and the pope sent them a letter, approving what they had done, and commanding them, if possible, not to leave one *heretic* alive in that part of the country; which command they strictly fulfilled; butchering all the protestants in the Valtoline and neighbouring districts,

BOOK V.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE INQUISITION IN SPAIN, PORTUGAL, ITALY, &c.

SECTION I.

ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND CRUELITIES OF THE INQUISITION.

WHEN the reformed religion began to diffuse the pure light of the gospel throughout Europe, the bigoted Roman Catholics, fearing the exposure of the frauds and abuses of their church, determined to leave nothing unattempted to crush the Reformation in its infancy; pope Innocent III. therefore instituted a number of *inquisitors*, or persons who were to make inquiry after, apprehend, and punish the professors of the reformed faith. At the head of these inquisitors was one Dominic, who was canonized by the pope, in order to render his authority the more respectable. He and the other inquisitors visited the various Roman Catholic countries, and treated the protestants with the utmost severity; but at length the pope, not finding them so useful as he had expected, resolved upon the establishment of fixed and regular courts of inquisition; the first office of which was established in the city of Toulouse, and Dominic became the first inquisitor.

Courts of inquisition were also erected in several other countries; but the Spanish inquisition became the most

powerful, and the most dreadful of any. Even the kings of Spain themselves, though arbitrary in all other respects, were taught to dread its power; and the horrid cruelties exercised by the inquisition, compelled multitudes, who differed in opinion from the Catholics, carefully to conceal their sentiments. The Dominicans and Franciscans were the most zealous of all the monks: these, therefore, the pope invested with an exclusive right of presiding over, and managing the different courts of inquisition. The friars of those two orders were always selected from the very dregs of the people, and therefore were not much troubled with scruples of conscience; they were obliged, by the rules of their respective orders, to lead very austere lives, which rendered their manners unsocial, and better qualified them for their barbarous employment.

The pope gave the inquisitors the most unlimited powers, as judges delegated by him, and immediately representing his person: they were permitted to excommunicate, or sentence to death, whom they thought proper, upon the slightest information of heresy; were allowed to publish crusades against all whom they deemed heretics, and enter into leagues with sovereign princes, to join those crusades with their forces. About the year 1244, their power was further increased by the emperor Frederic the Second, who declared himself the protector and friend of all inquisitors, and published two cruel edicts, viz. that all heretics, who continued obstinate, should be burnt; and that all who repented, should be imprisoned for life. This zeal in the emperor for the inquisitors, and the Roman Catholic persuasion, arose from a report which had been propagated throughout Europe, that he intended to turn Mahometan; the

emperor therefore judiciously determined, by the height of bigotry and cruelty, to show his attachment to *poper*y.

The officers of the inquisition are, three inquisitors or judges, a proctor fiscal, two secretaries, a magistrate, a messenger, a receiver, a gaoler, an agent of confiscated possessions, and several assessors, counsellors, executioners, physicians, surgeons, door-keepers, familiars, and visitors, who are all sworn to profound secrecy. The chief accusation against those who are subject to this tribunal is heresy, which comprises all that is spoken or written against any of the articles of the creed, or the traditions of the Romish church. The other articles of accusation are, renouncing the Roman Catholic persuasion, and believing that persons of any other religion may be saved, or even admitting that the tenets of any but papists are in the least reasonable. There are two other things which incur the most severe punishments, viz. to disapprove of any action done by the inquisition, or disbelieve any thing said by an inquisitor.

Heresy comprises many subdivisions; and upon a suspicion of any of these, the party is immediately apprehended. Advancing an offensive proposition; failing to impeach others who may advance such; contemning church ceremonies; defacing idols; reading books condemned by the inquisition; lending such books to others to read; deviating from the ordinary practices of the Romish church; letting a year pass without going to confession; eating meat on fast days; neglecting mass; being present at a sermon preached by a heretic; not appearing when summoned by the inquisition; lodging in the house of, contracting a friendship with, or making a present to a heretic; assisting a heretic; to escape from confinement, or visiting one in confinement, are all mat-

ters of suspicion, and prosecuted accordingly. All Roman Catholics are commanded, under pain of excommunication, to give immediate information, even of their nearest and dearest friends, if they judge them to be heretics, or inclining to heresy. All who give the least assistance to protestants are called fautors, or abettors of heresy, and the accusations against these are for comforting such as the inquisition have begun to prosecute; assisting, or not informing against such, if they should happen to escape; concealing, abetting, advising, or furnishing heretics with money; visiting, or writing to, or sending them subsistence; secreting, or burning books and papers, which might serve to convict them. The inquisition also takes cognizance of such as are accused of being magicians, witches, blasphemers, soothsayers, wizards, common swearers; and of such who read, or even possess the Bible in the vulgar tongues, the Talmud of the Jews, or the Alcoran of the Mahometans.

Upon all occasions the inquisitors carry on their processes with the utmost severity. They seldom show mercy to a protestant; and a Jew, who turns Christian, is far from being secure; for if he is known to keep company with another new-converted Jew, a suspicion arises that they privately practise together some Jewish ceremonies; if he keep company with a person who was lately a protestant, but now professes popery, they are accused of plotting together; but if he associate with a Roman Catholic, an accusation is often laid against him for only pretending to be a papist, and the consequence is a confiscation of his effects, and the loss of his life if he complain.

A defence is of little use to the prisoner; for a suspicion only is deemed sufficient cause of condemnation, and the greater his wealth the greater his danger. Most

of the inquisitors' cruelties are owing to their rapacity: they destroy life to possess the property; and under pretence of zeal, plunder individuals of their rights. A prisoner of the inquisitors is never allowed to see the face of his accuser, or any of the witnesses against him, but every method is taken, by threats, and tortures, to oblige him to accuse himself. If the jurisdiction of the inquisition be not fully allowed, vengeance is denounced against such as call it in question; or if any of its officers are opposed, those who oppose them are almost certain to be sufferers for their temerity; the maxim of the inquisition being to strike terror, and awe those who are the objects of its power, into obedience. High birth, distinguished rank, or eminent employments, are no protection from its severities; and its lowest officers can make the most exalted nobleman tremble at their authority.

Such are the circumstances which subject a person to the rage of the inquisition; and the modes of beginning the process are, 1. to proceed by imputation, or prosecute on common report; 2. by the information of any indifferent person who chooses to impeach another; 3. on the information of spies who are retained by the inquisition; and, 4. on the confession of the prisoner himself.

The inquisitors never forget or forgive; length of time cannot efface their resentments; nor can the humblest concessions, or most liberal presents, obtain a pardon: they carry the desire of revenge to the grave, and wish to have both the property and lives of those who have offended them. Hence, when a person once accused to the inquisition, after escaping, is retaken, pardon is next to an impossibility. If a positive accusation be given, the inquisitors direct an order to the execu

tioner, who takes a certain number of familiars with him to assist in the execution. Father, son, brother, sister, husband, or wife, must quietly submit; none dare resist or even speak; as either would subject them to the same punishment as the devoted victim. No respite is allowed, but the prisoner is instantaneously hurried away.

This dreadful engine of tyranny may at any time be introduced into a country where the catholics have the upper hand; and hence, how careful ought we to be, who are not cursed with such an arbitrary court, to prevent its introduction! In treating of this subject, an elegant author pathetically says, "How horrid a scene of perfidy and inhumanity! What kind of community must that be whence gratitude, love, and mutual forbearance with regard to human frailties, are banished! What must that tribunal be, which obliges parents not only to erase from their minds the remembrance of their own children, to extinguish all those keen sensations of tenderness and affection wherewith nature inspires them, but even to extend their inhumanity so far as to force them to commence their accusers, and consequently to become the cause of the cruelties inflicted upon them! What ideas ought we to form to ourselves of a tribunal which obliges children not only to stifle every soft impulse of gratitude, love, and respect, due to those who gave them birth, but even forces them, and that under the most rigorous penalties, to be spies over their parents, and to discover to a set of merciless inquisitors the crimes, the errors, and even the little lapses to which they are exposed by human frailty! In a word, a tribunal which will not permit relations, when imprisoned in its horrid dungeons, to give each other the succours, or perform the duties which religion enjoins, must be of an infernal nature. What disorder and confusion must such con-

duct give rise to in a tenderly affectionate family! An expression, innocent in itself, and, perhaps, but too true, shall, from an indiscreet zeal, or a panic of fear, give infinite uneasiness to a family; shall ruin its peace entirely, and perhaps cause one or more of its members to be the unhappy victims of the most barbarous of all tribunals. What distractions must necessarily break forth in a house where the husband and wife are at variance, or the children loose and wicked! Will such children scruple to sacrifice a father who endeavours to restrain them by his exhortations, by reproofs, or paternal corrections? Will they not rather, after plundering his house to support their extravagance and riot, readily deliver up their unhappy parent to all the horrors of a tribunal founded on the blackest injustice? A riotous husband, or a loose wife, has an easy opportunity, assisted by means of the persecution in question, to rid themselves of one who is a check to their vices, by delivering him, or her, up to the rigours of the inquisition."

When the inquisitors have taken umbrage against an innocent person, all expedients are used to facilitate his condemnation; false oaths and testimonies are employed to prove the accused to be guilty; and all laws and institutions are sacrificed to the bigoted revenge of papacy.

When a person accused is taken, his treatment is deplorable. The gaolers first begin by searching him for books and papers which might tend to his conviction, or for instruments which might be employed in self-murder or escape, and on this pretext they even rob him of his wearing apparel. When he has been searched and robbed, he is committed to prison. Innocence, on such an occasion, is a weak reed; nothing being easier than to ruin an innocent person.

The mildest sentence is imprisonment for life; yet the inquisitors proceed by degrees, at once subtle, slow, and cruel. The gaoler first of all insinuates himself into the prisoner's favour, by pretending to wish him well, and advise him well; and among other pretended kind hints, tells him to petition for an audit. When he is brought before the consistory, the first demand is, "What is your request?" To this the prisoner very naturally answers, that he would have a hearing. Hereupon one of the inquisitors replies, "Your hearing is this; confess the truth, conceal nothing, and rely on our mercy." Now, if the prisoner make a confession of any trifling affair, they immediately found an indictment on it; if he is mute, they shut him up without light, or any food but a scanty allowance of bread and water, till his obstinacy is overcome; and if he declare he is innocent, they torment him till he either die with the pain, or confess himself guilty.

On the re-examinations of such as confess, they continually say, "You have not been sincere, you tell not all; you keep many things concealed, and therefore must be remanded to your dungeon." When those who have stood mute are called for re-examination, if they continue silent, such tortures are ordered as will either make them speak, or kill them; and when those who proclaim their innocence are re-examined, a crucifix is held before them, and they are solemnly exhorted to take an oath of their confession of faith. This brings them to the test; they must either swear they are Roman Catholics, or acknowledge they are not. If they acknowledge they are not, they are proceeded against as heretics. If they acknowledge they are Roman Catholics, a string of accusations is brought against them, to which they are obliged to answer extempore; no time being given even

to arrange their answers. On having verbally answered, pen, ink, and paper are given them, in order to produce a written answer, which must in every degree coincide with the verbal answer. If the verbal and written answers differ, the prisoners are charged with prevarication; if one contain more than the other, they are accused of wishing to conceal certain circumstances; if they both agree, they are charged with premeditated artifice.

After a person impeached is condemned, he is either severely whipped, violently tortured, sent to the galleys, or sentenced to death; and in either case his effects are confiscated. After judgment, a procession is performed to the place of execution, which ceremony is called an *Auto da Fè*, or Act of Faith.

AUTO DA FE AT MADRID.

The following is an account of an *Auto da Fè*, at Madrid, in the year 1682.

The officers of the inquisition, preceded by trumpets, kettle-drums, and their banner, marched on the 30th of May, in cavalcade, to the palace of the great square, where they declared by proclamation, that on the 30th of June the sentence of the prisoners would be put in execution. There had not been a spectacle of this kind at Madrid for several years, for which reason it was expected by the inhabitants with as much impatience as a day of the greatest festivity and triumph.

When the day appointed arrived, a prodigious number of people appeared, dressed as splendidly as their circumstances would allow. In the great square was raised a high scaffold; and thither, from seven in the morning till the evening, were brought criminals of both sexes;

all the inquisitions in the kingdom sending their prisoners to Madrid. Twenty men and women of these prisoners, with one renegado Mahometan, were ordered to be burnt; fifty Jews and Jewesses, having never before been imprisoned, and repenting of their crimes, were sentenced to a long confinement, and to wear a yellow cap; and ten others, indicted for bigamy, witchcraft, and other crimes, were sentenced to be whipped, and then sent to the galleys: these last wore large pasteboard caps, with inscriptions on them, having a halter about their necks, and torches in their hands.

On this solemn occasion the whole court of Spain was present. The grand inquisitor's chair was placed in a sort of tribunal far above that of the king. The nobles here acted the part of the sheriff's officers in England, leading such criminals as were to be burned, and holding them when fast bound with thick cords: the rest of the criminals were conducted by the familiars of the inquisition.

Among those who were to suffer, was a young Jewess of exquisite beauty, only seventeen years of age. Being on the same side of the scaffold where the queen was seated, she addressed her, in hopes of obtaining a pardon, in the following pathetic speech: "Great queen! will not your royal presence be of some service to me in my miserable condition? Have regard to my youth; and, oh! consider that I am about to die for professing a religion imbibed from my earliest infancy!" Her majesty seemed greatly to pity her distress, but turned away her eyes, as she did not dare to speak a word in behalf of a person who had been declared a heretic by the inquisition.

Mass now began, in the midst of which the priest came from the altar, placed near the scaffold, and seated

himself in a chair prepared for that purpose. Then the chief inquisitor descended from the amphitheatre, dressed in his cope, and having a mitre on his head. After bowing to the altar, he advanced towards the king's balcony, and went up to it, attended by some of his officers, carrying a cross and the gospels, with a book containing the oath by which the kings of Spain oblige themselves to protect the Catholic faith, to extirpate heretics, and support, with all their power, the prosecutions and decrees of the inquisition. On the approach of the inquisitor, and on his presenting this book to the king, his majesty rose up bareheaded, and swore to maintain the oath, which was read to him by one of his counsellors: after which the king continued standing till the inquisitor had returned to his place; when the secretary of the holy office mounted a sort of pulpit, and administered a like oath to the counsellors, and the whole assembly. The mass was begun about twelve at noon, and did not end till nine in the evening, being protracted, by a proclamation of the sentences of the several criminals, which were all separately rehearsed aloud one after the other. Next followed the burning of the twenty-one men and women, whose intrepidity in suffering that horrid death was truly astonishing: some thrust their hands and feet into the flames with the most dauntless fortitude; and all of them yielded to their fate with such resolution, that many of the amazed spectators lamented that such heroic souls *had not been more enlightened!* The situation of the king was so near to the criminals, that their dying groans were very audible to him: he could not, however, be absent from this dreadful scene, as it is esteemed a religious one; and his coronation oath obliges him to give a sanction by his presence to all the acts of the tribunal.

* ANOTHER AUTO DA FE.

Another Auto da Fé is thus described by Dr. Geddes: "At the place of execution there are so many stakes set as there are prisoners to be burned, a large quantity of dry furze being set about them. The stakes of the protestants, or, as the inquisitors call them, the professed, are about four yards high, and have each a small board, whereon the prisoner is seated, within half a yard of the top. The professed then go up a ladder betwixt two priests, who attend the whole day of execution. When they come even with the fore-mentioned board, they turn about to the people, and the priests spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting them to be reconciled to the see of Rome. On their refusing, the priests come down, and the executioner ascending, turns the professed from off the ladder upon the seat, chains their bodies close to the stakes, and leaves them. Then the priests go up a second time to renew their exhortations, and if they find them ineffectual, usually tell them, at parting, that they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow ready to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell-fire, as soon as they are out of their bodies.

"A general shout is then raised, and when the priests get off the ladder, the universal cry is, 'Let the dogs' beards be made,' which implies, singe their beards; this is accordingly performed by means of flaming furzes thrust against their faces with long poles. This barbarity is repeated till their faces are burnt, and is accompanied with loud acclamations. Fire is then set to the furzes, and the criminals are consumed."

INQUISITION OF PORTUGAL.

The inquisition of Portugal is exactly upon a similar plan to that of Spain, having been instituted about the same time, and put under the same regulations, and the proceedings nearly resemble each other. The house, or rather palace, of the inquisition, is a noble edifice. It contains four courts, each about forty feet square, round which are about 300 dungeons or cells. The dungeons on the ground floor are for the lowest class of prisoners, and those on the second floor are for persons of superior rank. The galleries are built of freestone, and hid from view both within and without by a double wall of about fifty feet high. So extensive is the whole prison, which contains so many turnings and windings, that none but those well acquainted with it can find the way through its various avenues. The apartments of the chief inquisitor are spacious and elegant; the entrance is through a large gate, which leads into a court-yard, round which are several chambers, and some large saloons for the king, royal family, and the rest of the court to stand and observe the executions during an *Auto da Fé*.

A testoon (sevenpence halfpenny English money,) is allowed every prisoner daily; and the principal gaoler, accompanied by two other officers, monthly visits every prisoner to inquire how he would have his allowance laid out. This visit, however, is only a matter of form, for the gaoler usually lays out the money as he pleases, and commonly allows the prisoner daily a porringer of broth, half a pound of beef, a small piece of bread, and a trifling portion of cheese.

Sentinels walk about continually to listen; if the least noise is heard, they call to, and threaten the prisoner; if the noise is repeated, a severe beating ensues. The

following is a fact: a prisoner having a violent cough, one of the guards came and ordered him not to make a noise; to which he replied that it was not in his power to forbear. The cough increasing, the guard went into the cell, stripped the poor creature naked, and beat him so unmercifully that he soon after died.

Sometimes a prisoner passes months without knowing of what he is accused, or having the least idea of when he is to be tried. The gaoler at length informs him, that he must petition for a trial. This ceremony being gone through, he is taken for examination. When they come to the door of the tribunal, the gaoler knocks three times, to give the judges notice of their approach. A bell is rung by one of the judges, when an attendant opens the door, admits the prisoner, and seats him on a stool.

The prisoner is then ordered by the president to kneel down, and lay his right hand upon a book, which is presented to him close shut. This being complied with, the following question is put to him: "Will you promise to conceal the secrets of the holy office, and to speak the truth?" Should he answer in the negative, he is remanded to his cell, and cruelly treated. If he answer in the affirmative, he is ordered to be again seated, and the examination proceeds; when the president asks a variety of questions, and the clerk minutes both them and the answers.

When the examination is closed, the bell is again rung, the gaoler appears, and the prisoner is ordered to withdraw, with this exhortation: "Tax your memory, recollect all the sins you have ever committed, and when you are again brought here, communicate them to the holy office." The gaolers and attendants, when apprised that the prisoner has made an ingenuous confession, and

readily answered every question, make him a low bow, and treat him with an affected kindness, as a reward for his candour.

He is brought in a few days to a second examination, with the same formalities as before. The inquisitors often deceive prisoners by promising the greatest lenity, and even to restore their liberty, if they will accuse themselves; the unhappy persons, who are in their power, frequently fall into this snare, and are sacrificed to their own simplicity. Instances have occurred of some, who, relying on the faith of the judges, have accused themselves of what they were totally innocent of, in expectation of obtaining their liberty; and thus became martyrs to their own folly.

There is another artifice made use of by the inquisitors: if a prisoner has too much resolution to accuse himself, and too much sense to be ensnared by their sophistry, they proceed thus: a copy of an indictment against the prisoner is given him, in which, among many trivial accusations, he is charged with the most enormous crimes, of which human nature is capable. This rouses his temper, and he exclaims against such falsehoods. He is then asked which of the crimes he can deny. He naturally mentions the most atrocious, and begins to express his abhorrence of them, when the indictment being snatched out of his hand, the president says, "By your denying only those crimes which you mention, you implicitly confess the rest, and we shall therefore proceed accordingly." Sometimes they make a ridiculous affectation of equity, by pretending that the prisoner may be indulged with a counsellor, if he chooses to demand one. Such a request is sometimes made, and a counsellor appointed; but upon these occasions, as the trial itself is a mockery of justice, so the counsellor is a

mere cipher: for he is not permitted to say any thing that might offend the inquisition, or to advance a syllable that might benefit the prisoner.

Though the inquisitors allow the torture to be used only three times, yet at those three it is so severely inflicted, that the prisoner either dies under it, or continues always after a cripple. The following is a description of the severe torments occasioned by the torture, from the account of one who suffered it the three respective times, but happily survived its cruelties.

FIRST TIME OF TORTURING.

The prisoner, on refusing to comply with the iniquitous demands of the inquisitors, by confessing all the crimes they charged him with, was immediately conveyed to the torture-room, which, to prevent the cries of the sufferers from being heard by the other prisoners, is lined with a kind of quilting, which covers all the crevices, and deadens the sound. The prisoner's horror was extreme on entering this infernal place, when suddenly he was surrounded by six wretches, who, after preparing the tortures, stripped him naked to his drawers. He was then laid upon his back on a kind of stand, elevated a few feet from the floor. They began by putting an iron collar round his neck, and a ring to each foot, which fastened him to the stand. His limbs being thus stretched out, they wound two ropes round each arm, and two round each thigh; which ropes being passed under the scaffold, through holes made for that purpose, were all drawn tight at the same instant of time, by four of the men, on a given signal. The pains which immediately succeeded were intolerable; the ropes, which were of the small size, cut through the prisoner's flesh

to the bone, making the blood gush out at eight different places. As he persisted in not making any confession of what the inquisitors required, the ropes were drawn in this manner four times successively.

A physician and surgeon attended, and often felt his temples, in order to judge of the danger he might be in; by which means his tortures were for a small time suspended, that he might have sufficient opportunity of recovering his spirits to sustain each ensuing torture. During this extremity of anguish, while the tender frame is being torn, as it were, in pieces, while at every pore it feels the sharpest pangs of death, and the agonized soul is just ready to burst forth, and quit its wretched mansion, the ministers of the inquisition have the obduracy to look on without emotion, and calmly to advise the poor distracted creature to confess his imputed guilt, on doing which, they tell him he may obtain a free pardon, and receive absolution. All this, however, was ineffectual with the prisoner, whose mind was strengthened by a sweet consciousness of innocence, and the divine consolation of religion.

While he was thus suffering, the physician and surgeon were so barbarous as to declare, that if he died under the torture, he would be guilty, by his obstinacy, of self-murder. In short, at the last time of the ropes being drawn tight, he grew so exceedingly weak, by the stoppage of the circulation of his blood, and the pains he endured, that he fainted away; upon which he was unloosed, and carried back to his dungeon.

SECOND TIME OF TORTURING.

These inhuman wretches, finding that the torture inflicted, as above described, instead of extorting a dis-

covery from the prisoner, only served the more fervently to excite his supplication to heaven for patience and power to persevere in truth and integrity, were so barbarous, in six weeks after, as to expose him to another kind of torture, more severe, if possible, than the former; the manner of inflicting which was as follows: they forced his arms backwards, so that the palms of his hands were turned outward behind him; when, by means of a rope that fastened them together at the wrists, and which was turned by an engine, they drew them by degrees nearer each other, in such a manner that the back of each hand touched and stood exactly parallel to each other. In consequence of this violent contortion, both his shoulders were dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood issued from his mouth. This torture was repeated thrice; after which he was again taken to the dungeon, and delivered to the physician and surgeon, who, in setting the dislocated bones, put him to the most exquisite torment.

THIRD TIME OF TORTURING.

About two months after the second torture, the prisoner, being a little recovered, was again ordered to the torture-room; and there made to undergo another kind of punishment. The executioners fastened a thick iron chain twice round his body, which, crossing upon his stomach, terminated at the wrists. They then placed him with his back against a thick board, at each extremity whereof was a pulley, through which there run a rope that caught the ends of the chain at his wrists. Then the executioner stretching the end of this rope, by means of a roller placed at a distance behind him, pressed

or bruised his stomach in proportion as the ends of the chain were drawn tighter. They tortured him in this manner to such a degree, that his wrists, as well as his shoulders, were quite dislocated. They were, however, soon set by the surgeons; but the barbarians, not yet satisfied with this infernal cruelty, made him immediately undergo the like torture a second time; which he sustained (though, if possible, attended with keener pains,) with equal constancy and resolution. He was then again remanded to his dungeon, attended by the surgeon to dress his bruises and adjust the parts dislocated; and here he continued till their *Auto da Fé*, or gaol delivery, when he was happily discharged.

It may be judged, from the before-mentioned relation, what dreadful agony the sufferer must have endured. Most of his limbs were disjointed; so much was he bruised and exhausted, as to be unable, for some weeks, to lift his hand to his mouth; and his body became greatly swelled from the inflammations caused by such frequent dislocations. After his discharge he felt the effects of this cruelty for the remainder of his life, being frequently seized with thrilling and excruciating pains, to which he had never been subject, till after he had the misfortune to fall into the power of the merciless and bloody inquisition.

The unhappy females who fall into their hands, have not the least favour shown them on account of the softness of their sex, but are tortured with as much severity as the male prisoners, with the additional mortification of having the most shocking indecencies added to the most savage barbarities.

Should the above-mentioned modes of torturing force a confession from the prisoner, he is remanded to his horrid dungeon, and left a prey to the melancholy of

his situation, to the anguish arising from what he has suffered, and to the dreadful ideas of future barbarities. Should he refuse to confess, he is, in the same manner, remanded to his dungeon; but a stratagem is used to draw from him what the torture fails to do. A companion is allowed to attend him, under the pretence of waiting upon, and comforting his mind till his wounds are healed: this person, who is always selected for his cunning, insinuates himself into the good graces of the prisoner, laments the anguish he feels, sympathizes with him, and, taking an advantage of the hasty expressions forced from him by pain, does all he can to dive into his secrets. This companion sometimes pretends to be a prisoner like himself, and imprisoned on similar charges. This is to draw the unhappy person into a mutual confidence, and persuade him, in unbosoming his grief, to betray his private sentiments.

Frequently these snares succeed, as they are the more alluring by being glossed over with the appearance of friendship and sympathy. Finally, if the prisoner cannot be found guilty, he is either tortured or harassed to death, though a few have sometimes had the good fortune to be discharged, but not without having suffered the most dreadful cruelties.

The inquisition also takes cognizance of all new books; and tolerates or condemns with the same *justice* and *impartiality* by which all its proceedings are distinguished.

When a book is published, it is carefully read by some of the familiars; who, too ignorant and bigoted to distinguish truth, and too malicious to relish beauties, search not for the merits, but for the defects of an author, and pursue the slips of his pen with unremitting diligence. They read with prejudice, judge with partiality, pursue

errors with avidity, and strain that which is innocent into an offensive meaning. They misapply, confound, and pervert the sense; and when they have gratified the malignity of their disposition, charge their blunders upon the author, that a prosecution may be founded upon their false conceptions, and designed misinterpretations.

Any trivial charge causes the censure of a book; but it is to be observed, that the censure is of a three-fold nature, viz.

1. When the book is wholly condemned.
2. When it is partly condemned; that is, when certain passages are pointed out as exceptionable, and ordered to be expunged.
3. When it is deemed incorrect; the meaning of which is, that a few words or expressions displease the inquisitors. These, therefore, are ordered to be altered, and such alterations go under the name of corrections.

There is a catalogue of condemned books annually published under the three different heads of censures, already mentioned, which being printed on a large sheet of paper, is hung up in the most public and conspicuous places. After which, people are obliged to destroy all such books as come under the first censure, and to keep none belonging to the other two censures, unless the exceptionable passages have been expunged, and the corrections made, as in either case disobedience would be of the most fatal consequence; for the possessing or reading the proscribed books are deemed very atrocious crimes.

The publisher of such books is usually ruined in his circumstances, and sometimes obliged to pass the remainder of his life in the inquisition.

Where such an absurd and detestable system exercises its deadening influence over the literature of a nation,

can we be surprised that the grossest ignorance and the most bigoted superstition prevail? How can that people become enlightened, among whom the finest productions of genius are prohibited, all discussion prevented, the most innocent inquiries liable to misconstruction and punishment, the materials for thinking proscribed, and even *thought* itself chained down, and checked by the fear of its escaping into expression, and thus bringing certain and cruel punishment on him who has dared to exercise his reason, the noblest gift of his Almighty Creator. Surely every well wisher to the human race, must rejoice in the downfall of this most barbarous and infernal of all tribunals; and must view with indignation and abhorrence the iniquitous attempts now making to re-establish it in those unhappy countries which so long groaned under its sway.

SECTION II.

BARBARITIES EXERCISED BY THE INQUISITIONS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Francis Romanes, a native of Spain, was employed by the merchants of Antwerp, to transact some business for them at Bremen. He had been educated in the Romish persuasion, but going one day into a Protestant church, he was struck with the truths which he heard, and beginning to perceive the errors of popery, he determined to search farther into the matter. Perusing the sacred scriptures, and the writings of some protestant divines, he perceived how erroneous were the principles which he had formerly embraced; and renounced the im-

sitions of popery for the doctrines of the reformed church, in which religion appeared in all its genuine purity. Resolving to think only of his eternal salvation, he studied religious truths more than trade, and purchased books rather than merchandise, convinced that the riches of the body are trifling to those of the soul. He therefore resigned his agency to the merchants of Antwerp, giving them an account at the same time of his conversion; and then resolving, if possible, to convert his parents, he went to Spain for that purpose. But the Antwerp merchants writing to the inquisitors, he was seized upon, imprisoned for some time, and then condemned to be burnt as a heretic. He was led to the place of execution in a garment painted over with devils, and had a paper mitre put upon his head by way of derision. As he passed by a wooden cross, one of the priests bade him kneel to it; but he absolutely refused so to do, saying, "It is not for Christians to worship wood." Having been placed upon a pile of wood, the fire quickly reached him, whereupon he lifted up his head suddenly; the priests thinking he meant to recant, ordered him to be taken down. Finding, however, that they were mistaken, and that he still retained his constancy, he was placed again upon the pile, where, as long as he had life and voice remaining, he kept repeating the seventh psalm.

HORRID TREACHERY OF AN INQUISITOR.

A lady, with her two daughters and her niece, were apprehended at Seville for professing the Protestant religion. They were all put to the torture: and when that was over, one of the inquisitors sent for the youngest

daughter, pretended to sympathise with her, and pity her sufferings; then binding himself with a solemn oath not to betray her, he said, "If you will disclose all to me, I promise you I will procure the discharge of your mother, sister, cousin, and yourself." Made confident by his oath, and entrapped by promises, she revealed the whole of the tenets they professed; when the perjured wretch, instead of acting as he had sworn, immediately ordered her to be put to the rack, saying, "Now you have revealed so much, I will make you reveal more." Refusing, however, to say any thing farther they were all ordered to be burnt, which sentence was executed at the next Auto da Fé.

The keeper of the castle of Triano, belonging to the inquisitors of Seville, happened to be of a disposition more mild and humane than is usual with persons in his situation. He gave all the indulgence he could to the prisoners, and showed them every favour in his power, with as much secrecy as possible. At length, however, the inquisitors became acquainted with his kindness, and determined to punish him severely for it, that other gaolers might be deterred from showing the least traces of that compassion which ought to glow in the breast of every human being. With this view they immediately threw him into a dismal dungeon, and used him with such dreadful barbarity that he lost his senses. His deplorable situation, however, procured him no favour; for, frantic as he was, they brought him from prison, at an Auto da Fé, to the usual place of punishment, with a sanbenito (or garment worn by criminals) on, and a rope about his neck. His sentence was then read, and ran thus: that he should be placed upon an ass, led through the city, receive 200 stripes, and then be condemned for six years to the galleys. This unhappy, frantic wretch, just as

they were about to begin his punishment, suddenly sprung from the back of the ass, broke the cords that bound him, snatched a sword from one of the guards, and dangerously wounded an officer of the inquisition. Being overpowered by multitudes, he was prevented from doing further mischief, seized, bound more securely to the ass, and punished according to his sentence. But so inexorable were the inquisitors, that, for the rash effects of his madness, four years were added to his slavery in the galleys.

A maid-servant to another gaoler belonging to the inquisition was accused of humanity, and detected in bidding the prisoners keep up their spirits. For these heinous crimes, as they were called, she was publicly whipped, banished her native place for ten years, and had her forehead branded with these words, "A favourer and aider of heretics." Near the same time, John Pontic, a Protestant gentleman, was, principally on account of his great estate, apprehended by the inquisitors, and charged with heresy. On this charge all his effects were confiscated to the use of the inquisition, and his body burnt to ashes.

John Gonsalvo, originally a priest, but who had embraced the reformed religion, was, with his mother, brother, and two sisters, seized upon by the inquisitors. Being condemned, they were led to execution, singing part of the 106th psalm. They were ordered at the place of execution to say the creed, which they immediately complied with, but coming to these words, "the holy catholic church," they were commanded to add the monosyllables "of Rome," which absolutely refusing, one of the inquisitors said, "Put an end to their lives directly;" when the executioners obeyed, and strangled them.

Four Protestant women were seized upon at Seville, tortured, and afterwards ordered for execution. On the way they began to sing psalms; but the officers thinking that the words of the psalms reflected on themselves, put gags into their mouths to make them silent. They were then burnt, and the houses where they resided ordered to be demolished.

A monk, who had abjured the errors of popery, was imprisoned at the same time at Ferdinando; but through the fear of death, he said he was willing to embrace his former communion. Ferdinando hearing of this, got an opportunity to speak to him, reproached him with his weakness, and threatened him with eternal perdition; when the monk, sensible of his crime, returned to the Protestant faith, and declared to the inquisitors that he solemnly renounced his intended recantation. Sentence of death was therefore passed upon him, and he was burned at the same time as Ferdinando.

A Protestant tailor of Spain, named John Leon, travelled to Germany, and from thence to Geneva, where hearing that a great number of English Protestants were returning to their native country, he, and some more Spaniards, determined to go with them. The Spanish inquisitors being apprised of their intentions, sent a number of familiars in pursuit of them, who overtook them at a seaport in Zealand. The prisoners were heavily fettered, hand-cuffed, gagged, had their heads and necks covered with a kind of iron net-work, and in this miserable condition they were conveyed to Spain, thrown into a dungeon, almost famished, barbarously tortured, and then burnt.

A young lady having been put into a convent, absolutely refused to take the veil; and on leaving the cloister

she embraced the Protestant faith, on which she was apprehended and committed to the flames.

An eminent physician and philosopher, named Christopher Losada, became extremely obnoxious to the inquisitors, by exposing the errors of popery, and professing the tenets of protestantism. He was apprehended, imprisoned, and racked: but those severities not making him confess the Roman Catholic church to be the only true one, he was sentenced to the fire; which he bore with exemplary patience, and resigned his soul to his Creator.

Arias, a monk of St. Isidore's monastery at Seville, was a man of great abilities, but of a vicious disposition. He sometimes pretended to forsake the errors of the church of Rome, and become a Protestant, and soon after turned Roman Catholic. Thus he continued a long time wavering between both persuasions, till God thought proper to touch his heart. He now became a true Protestant; and the sincerity of his conversion being known, he was seized by the officers of the inquisition, severely tortured, and afterwards burnt at an Auto da Fé.

A young lady, named Maria de Coceicao, who resided with her brother at Lisbon, was taken up by the inquisitors, and ordered to be put to the rack. The torments she felt made her confess the charges against her. The cords were then slackened, and she was re-conducted to her cell, where she remained till she had recovered the use of her limbs; she was then brought again before the tribunal, and ordered to ratify her confession. This she absolutely refused to do, telling them, that what she had said was forced from her by the excessive pain she underwent. The inquisitors, incensed at this reply, ordered her again to be put to the rack, when the weakness of nature once more prevailed, and she repeated her former

confession. She was immediately remanded to her cell: and being a third time brought before the inquisitors, they ordered her to sign her first and second confessions. She answered as before, but added, "I have twice given way to the frailty of the flesh, and perhaps may, while on the rack, be weak enough to do so again; but depend upon it, if you torture me a hundred times, as soon as I am released from the rack I shall deny what was extorted from me by pain." The inquisitors then ordered her to be racked a third time; and, during this last trial, she bore the torments with the utmost fortitude, and could not be persuaded to answer any of the questions put to her. As her courage and constancy increased, the inquisitors, instead of putting her to death, condemned her to a severe whipping through the public streets, and banishment for ten years.

A lady of a noble family in Seville, named Jane Bohorquia, was apprehended on the information of her sister, who had been tortured and burnt for professing the Protestant religion. Being pregnant, they let her remain tolerably quiet till she was delivered, when they immediately took away the child, and put it to nurse, that it might be brought up a Roman Catholic. Soon afterwards this unfortunate lady was ordered to be racked, which was done with such severity, that she expired a week after of the wounds and bruises. Upon this occasion the inquisitors affected some remorse, and in one of the printed acts of the inquisition, which they always publish at an Auto da Fé, this young lady is thus mentioned: "Jane Bohorquia was found dead in prison; after which, upon reviving the prosecution, the inquisitors discovered she was innocent. Be it therefore known, that no further prosecutions shall be carried on against her; and that her effects, which were confiscated,

shall be given to the heirs at law." One sentence in the above ridiculous passage, wants explanation, viz. that no further prosecutions shall be carried on against her. This alludes to the absurd custom of prosecuting and burning the bones of the dead: for when a prisoner dies in the inquisition, the process continues the same as if he was living; the bones are deposited in a chest, and if sentence of guilt is passed, they are brought out at the next *Auto da Fé*; the sentence is read against them with as much solemnity as against a living prisoner, and they are committed to the flames. In a similar manner are prosecutions carried on against prisoners who escape; and when their persons are far beyond the reach of the inquisitors, they are burnt in effigy.

Isaac Orobio, a learned physician, having beaten a Moorish servant for stealing, was accused by him of professing Judaism, and the inquisitors seized him upon the charge. He was kept three years in prison before he had the least intimation of what he was to undergo, and then suffered the following six modes of torture: 1. A coarse linen coat was put upon him, and then drawn so tight that the circulation of the blood was nearly stopped, and the breath almost pressed out of his body. After this the strings were suddenly loosened, when the air forcing its way hastily into his stomach, and the blood rushing into its channels, he suffered the most incredible pain. 2. His thumbs were tied with small cords so hard that the blood gushed from under the nails. 3. He was seated on a bench with his back against a wall, wherein small iron pulleys were fixed. Ropes being fastened to several parts of his body and limbs, were passed through the pulleys, and being suddenly drawn with great violence, his whole frame was forced into a distorted mass. 4. After having suffered for a considerable time the pains

of the last mentioned position, the seat was snatched away, and he was left suspended against the wall. 5. A little instrument with five knobs, and which went with springs, being placed near his face, he suddenly received five blows on the cheek, which put him to such pain as caused him to faint. 6. The executioners fastened ropes round his wrists, and then drew them about his body. Placing him on his back with his feet against the wall, they pulled with the utmost violence, till the cord had penetrated to the bone. He suffered the last torture three times, and then lay seventy days before his wounds were healed. He was afterwards banished, and in his exile wrote the account of his sufferings, from which the foregoing particulars are chiefly extracted.

A famous writer of Toledo, and a Protestant, was fond of producing fine specimens of writing, and having them framed to adorn the different apartments of his house. Among other curious examples of penmanship, was a large piece containing the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments, in verse. This piece, which hung in a conspicuous part of the house, was one day seen by a person belonging to the inquisition, who observed that the versification of the commandments was not according to the church of Rome, but according to the Protestant church: for the Protestants retain the whole of the commandments as they are found in the Bible, but the papists omit that part of the second commandment which forbids the worship of images. The inquisition soon had information of the circumstance, and this gentleman was seized, prosecuted, and burnt, only for ornamenting his house with a specimen of his skill.

SECTION III.

TRIAL AND SUFFERINGS OF MR. ISAAC MARTIN.

In the year 1714, about Lent, Mr. Martin arrived at Malaga, with his wife and four children. On the examination of his baggage, his Bible, and some other books, were seized. He was accused in about three months time of being a Jew, for these curious reasons, that his own name was Isaac, and one of his sons was named Abraham. The accusation was laid in the bishop's court, and he informed the English consul of it, who said it was nothing but the malice of some of the Irish papists, whom he advised him always to shun. The clergy sent to Mr. Martin's neighbours to know their opinion concerning him: the result of which inquiry was this, "We believe him not to be a Jew, but a heretic." After this, being continually pestered by priests, particularly those of the Irish nation, to change his religion, he determined to dispose of what he had, and retire from Malaga. But when his resolution became known, at about nine o'clock at night he heard a knocking at his door. He demanded who was there. The persons without said they wanted to enter. He desired they would come again the next morning; but they replied, if he would not open the door they would break it open; which they did. Then about fifteen persons entered, consisting of a commissioner, with several priests and familiars belonging to the inquisition. Mr. Martin would fain have gone to the English consul; but they told him the consul had nothing to do in the matter, and then said, "Where are your beads and fire-arms?" To which he answered, "I am an English Protestant, and as such carry no private arms, nor make use of beads." They

took away his watch, money, and other things, carried him to the bishop's prison, and put on him a pair of heavy fetters. His distressed family was, at the same time, turned out of doors till the house was stripped; and when they had taken every thing away, they returned the key to his wife.

About four days after his commitment, Mr. Martin was told he must be sent to Grenada to be tried: he earnestly begged to see his wife and children before he went, but this was denied. Being doubly fettered, he was mounted on a mule, and set out towards Grenada. By the way, the mule threw him upon a rocky part of the road, and almost broke his back.

On his arrival at Grenada, after a journey of three days, he was detained at an inn till it was dark, for they never put any one into the inquisition during day-light. At night he was taken to the prison, and led along a range of galleries till he arrived at a dungeon. The gaoler nailed up a box of books, belonging to him, which had been brought from Malaga, saying, they must remain in that state till the lords of the inquisition chose to inspect them, for prisoners were not allowed to read books. He also took an inventory of every thing, which Mr. Martin had about him, even to his very buttons; and having asked him a great number of frivolous questions, he at length gave him these orders: "You must observe as great silence here, as if you were dead; you must not speak, nor whistle, nor sing, nor make any noise that can be heard; and if you hear any body cry, or make a noise, you must be still, and say nothing, under pain of 200 lashes." Mr. Martin asked if he might have liberty to walk about the room; the gaoler replied he might, but it must be very softly. After giving him some wine, bread, and a few walnuts, the gaoler left

him till the morning. It was frosty weather, the walls of the dungeon were between two and three feet thick, the floor was bricked, and a great deal of wind came through a hole of about a foot in length, and five inches in breadth, which served as a window. The next morning the gaoler came to light his lamp, and bade him light a fire in order to dress his dinner. He then took him to a turn, or such a wheel as is found at the doors of convents, where a person on the other side turns the provisions round. He had then given him half a pound of mutton, two pounds of bread, some kidney beans, a bunch of raisins, and a pint of wine, which was the allowance for three days. He had likewise two pounds of charcoal, an earthen stove, and a few other articles.

In about a week he was ordered to an audience; he followed the gaoler, and coming to a large room saw a man sitting between two crucifixes; and another with a pen in his hand, who was, as he afterwards learned, the secretary. The chief lord inquisitor was the person between the two crucifixes; and appeared to be about sixty years of age. He ordered Mr. M. to sit down upon a little stool that fronted him. A frivolous examination then took place; the questions related to his family, their religion, &c. and his own tenets of faith. The prisoner admitted that he was a protestant, told the inquisitor that the religion of Christ admitted of no persecution, and concluded with saying, that he hoped to remain in that religion. He underwent five examinations, without any thing serious being alledged against him.

In a few days after he was called to his sixth audience, when after a few immaterial interrogatories, the inquisitor told him the charges against him should be read,

and that he must give an immediate and prompt answer to each respective charge.

The accusations against him were then read; they amounted to twenty-six, but were principally of the most trivial nature, and the greater number wholly false, or, if founded on facts, so distorted and perverted by the malice of his accusers, as to bear little resemblance to the real occurrences to which they related. Mr. Martin answered the whole of them firmly and discreetly, exposing their weakness, and detecting their falsehood.

He was then remanded to his dungeon; was shaved on Whitsun-eve (shaving being allowed only three times in the year;) and the next day one of the gaolers gave him some frankincense to be put into the fire, as he was to receive a visit from the lords of the inquisition. Two of them accordingly came, asked many trivial questions, concluding them, as usual, with, "We will do you all the service we can." Mr. Martin complained greatly of their having promised him a lawyer to plead his cause; "when, instead of a proper person," said he, "there was a man whom you called a lawyer, but he never spoke to me, nor I to him: if all your lawyers are so quiet in this country, they are the quietest in the world, for he hardly said any thing but yes and no, to what your lordship said." To which one of the inquisitors gravely replied, "Lawyers are not allowed to speak here." At this the gaoler and secretary went out of the dungeon to laugh, and Mr. Martin could scarce refrain from smiling in their faces to think that his cause was to be defended by a man who scarce dared to open his lips. Some time after he was ordered to dress himself very clean: as soon as he was ready, one of the gaolers came and told him, that he must go with him:

but that first he must have a handkerchief tied about his eyes. He now expected the torture; but, after another examination, was remanded to his dungeon.

About a month afterwards, he had a rope put round his neck, and was led by it to the altar of the great church. Here his sentence was pronounced, which was, that for the crimes of which he stood convicted, the lords of the holy office had ordered him to be banished out of the dominions of Spain, upon the penalty of 200 lashes, and being sent five years to the galleys; and that he should at present receive 200 lashes through the streets of the city of Grenada.

Mr. Martin was sent again to his dungeon that night, and the next morning the executioner came, stripped him, tied his hands together, put a rope about his neck, and led him out of the prison. He was then mounted on an ass, and received his 200 lashes, amidst the shouts and peltings of the people. He remained a fortnight in the gaol, and at length was sent to Malaga. Here he was put in gaol for some days, till he could be sent on board an English ship: which had no sooner happened, than news was brought of a rupture between England and Spain, and that ship, with many others, was stopped. Mr. Martin not being considered as a prisoner of war, was put on board of a Hamburg trader, and his wife and children soon came to him; but he was obliged to put up with the loss of his effects, which had been embezzled by the inquisition.

His case was published by the desire of Secretary Craggs, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Norwich, Sarum, Chichester, St. Asaph, Lincoln, Bristol, Peterborough, Bangor, &c.

SECTION IV.

DISCOVERY OF SOME ENORMITIES OF THE INQUISITION.

In the beginning of the last century, when the crown of Spain was contested for by two princes, France espoused the cause of one competitor, and England of the other. The duke of Berwick, (a natural son of James II. of England) commanded the Spanish and French forces, and defeated the English, at the battle of Almanza. The army was then divided into two parts; the one, consisting of Spaniards and French, headed by the duke of Berwick, advanced towards Catalonia; the other body, consisting of French troops only, commanded by the duke of Orleans, proceeded to the conquest of Arragon. On the troops approaching the city of Arragon, the magistrates came to offer the keys to the duke of Orleans; but he told them haughtily they were rebels, and that he would not accept the keys, for he had orders to enter the city through a breach. Accordingly, he made a breach in the walls with his cannon, and then entered the city through it, together with his whole army. When he had made regulations here, and ordered that heavy contributions should be levied, he departed to subdue other places, leaving a strong garrison under the command of his lieutenant-general M. D. Legal. This gentleman, though brought up a Roman Catholic, was totally free from superstition; he united great talents with great bravery; and was, at once, the accomplished gentleman and skilful officer.

The money levied upon the magistrates and principal inhabitants, and upon every house, was paid as soon as demanded; but when the persons applied to the heads

of the convents and monasteries, they found the ecclesiastics very unwilling to part with their cash.

M. De Legal sent to the Jesuits a peremptory order to pay 2000 pistoles immediately. The superior of the Jesuits returned for answer, that for the clergy to pay money to the army was against all ecclesiastical immunities; and that he knew of no argument that could authorize such a procedure. M. De Legal then sent four companies of dragoons to quarter themselves in the college, with this sarcastic message: "To convince you of the necessity of paying the money, I have sent four substantial arguments to your college, drawn from the system of military logic; and, therefore, hope you will not need any further admonition to direct your conduct."

The Jesuits, greatly perplexed at these proceedings, despatched an express to court to the king's confessor, who was of their order; but the dragoons were much more expeditious in plundering and doing mischief, than the courier in his journey: so that the Jesuits, seeing every thing going to ruin, thought proper to adjust the matter, and paid the money before the return of the messenger. The Augustins and Carmelites, taking warning by what had happened to the Jesuits, prudently went and paid the money, and by that means escaped the study of military arguments, and of being taught logic by the dragoons.

On the other hand, the Dominicans, who are all agents of the inquisition, imagined, that that very circumstance would be their protection; but they were mistaken, for M. De Legal neither feared nor respected the inquisition. The chief of the Dominicans sent word to the military commander, that his order was poor, and had not any money whatever, to pay the donative; "for," said he,

"the whole wealth of the Dominicans consists only in the silver images of the apostles and saints, which are placed in our church, and to remove which would be accounted sacrilege."

This insinuation was meant to terrify the French commander; he, however, sent word that the silver images would make admirable substitutes for money, and would be more in character in his possession, than in that of the Dominicans themselves; "for," said he, "while you possess them, they stand up in niches, useless and motionless, without being of the least benefit to mankind; but when they come into my possession, they shall be useful; I will put them in motion; for I intend to have them coined, when they may travel like the apostles."

The inquisitors were astonished at this treatment, which they never expected to receive, even from crowned heads; they therefore determined to deliver their precious images in a solemn procession, that they might excite the people to an insurrection. The Dominican friars were accordingly ordered to march to De Legal's house, with the silver apostles and saints, in a mournful manner, having lighted tapers with them, and bitterly crying all the way, "Heresy! heresy!"

When M. De Legal heard of these proceedings, he ordered four companies of grenadiers to line the streets which led to his house; each grenadier was ordered to have his loaded fuzee in one hand, and a lighted taper in the other: so that the troops might either repel force with force, or do honour to the farcical ceremony. The friars did all they could to raise a tumult, but the people were too much afraid of the troops; the silver images were, therefore, delivered up to M. De Legal, who sent them to the mint to be coined.

The inquisitors, however, determined to excommunicate M. De Legal, unless he would release their precious saints from imprisonment in the mint before they were melted down. The French commander absolutely refused to do this, upon which the inquisitors drew up the form of excommunication, and ordered their secretary to go and read it to him.

This commission the secretary punctually performed, and read the excommunication deliberately and distinctly. The French commander heard him with great patience, and politely told him he would answer it next day. As soon as the secretary was gone, M. De Legal ordered his own secretary to prepare a form of excommunication exactly like that sent by the inquisition: but instead of his name, to put in those of the inquisitors.

The next morning he ordered four regiments under arms, and commanded them to accompany his secretary, and act according to his direction. The secretary went to the inquisition, and insisted upon admittance; which, after a great deal of altercation, was granted. As soon as he entered, he read, in an audible voice, the excommunication sent by M. De Legal against the inquisitors. They were all present, and heard it with astonishment. They cried out against M. De Legal, as a heretic; and said this was a most daring insult against the Catholic faith. But, to surprise them still more, the French secretary told them, they must remove from their present lodgings; for the French commander wanted to quarter his troops there, as it was the most commodious place in the whole city. On this the inquisitors exclaimed loudly, when the secretary put them under a strong guard, and sent them to a place appointed by M. De Legal to receive them. Here, finding their threats disregarded, they begged that they might be permitted to retire from the

city, taking with them their private property, which was granted, and they immediately set out for Madrid, where they made the most bitter complaints to the king; but the monarch told them, he could not grant them any redress, as the injuries they had received were from the troops of his grandfather, the king of France, by whose assistance alone he could be firmly established in his kingdom.

In the mean time, M. De Legal set open all the doors of the inquisition, and released the prisoners, who amounted in the whole to 400; and among these were *sixty beautiful young women*, who formed a *seraglio* for the three principal inquisitors.

This discovery, which laid open the enormity of the inquisitors, greatly alarmed the archbishop, who desired M. De Legal to send the women to his palace, and he would take proper care of them; and at the same time he published an ecclesiastical censure against all such as should ridicule or blame the holy inquisition. But the French commander sent word to the archbishop, that the prisoners had either ran away, or were securely concealed by their friends, or his own officers; that it was impossible for him to send them back again; and, therefore, the inquisition having committed such atrocious actions, must now put up with their exposure and shame.

One of the ladies thus delivered from captivity was afterwards married to the French officer who opened the door of her dungeon, and released her. She related many singular circumstances respecting the *holy fathers*, to her husband, and to M. Gavin, who afterwards made them public in his work entitled "the Master-Key to Popery."

From the foregoing narrative it will be perceived,

that the inquisitors, under the exterior garb of sanctity and self-denial, are guilty of the greatest enormities. Lust, pride, avarice, and cruelty, are their predominant passions; and such is the blindness and bigotry of the deluded people over whom they extend their despotic sway, that not a voice is raised, not a murmur heard, against the most horrible barbarities, if they be sanctified by the specious pretext of zeal for the Catholic faith, and executed by the familiars of the *Holy Office*.

It might have been expected, that their influence over the minds of the higher orders of society, would have been less powerful; and that some one would have been found, among the sovereigns of Spain or Portugal, sufficiently enlightened to see through the imposture, and courageous enough to assert his own rights and those of his subjects against the hypocritical tyrants who trampled on both. But such is the benumbing effect of this horrible tribunal, so powerful has it become by the weakness and folly of the people, that the only prince who dared to threaten its existence, was put to death by the machinations of the inquisitors, before his accession to the throne gave him an opportunity of executing his noble purpose. This unfortunate prince was Don Carlos, son of Philip the Second, and grandson of Charles the Fifth.

Don Carlos possessed all the good qualities of his grandfather, without any of the bad ones of his father. He had sense enough to see into the errors of popery, and abhorred the very name of the inquisition. He inveighed publicly against it, ridiculed the affected piety of the inquisitors, and declared, that if he ever came to the crown, he would abolish the inquisition, and exterminate its agents. This irritated and alarmed the inquisitors; and they, accordingly, determined on his de-

struction. They therefore employed all their emissaries to spread the most artful insinuations against the prince; and, at length, raised such a spirit of discontent among the people, that the king was under the necessity of removing Don Carlos from court. They even pursued his friends, and obliged the king to banish Don John, duke of Austria, his brother, together with his own nephew, the prince of Parma, because both these illustrious persons had a most sincere attachment to their kinsman, Don Carlos.

Shortly after, the prince having shown great lenity and favour to the Protestants in the Netherlands, the inquisitors gladly seized the opportunity of declaring, that as the persons in question were heretics, the prince himself must be one, since he gave them countenance. Thus they gained so great an ascendancy over the mind of the king, who was an absolute slave to superstition, that he sacrificed the feelings of nature to the force of bigotry, and from fear of incurring the anger of the inquisition, passed sentence of death on his only son.

The prince had what was termed an indulgence; that is, he was permitted to choose the manner of his death. He chose bleeding, and the hot-bath; when the veins of his arms and legs being opened, he expired gradually, falling a martyr to the malice of the inquisitors, and the besotted bigotry of his father.

BOOK VI.

**FARTHER HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS,
SUFFERINGS, AND CRUEL DEATHS OF PROTESTANT
MARTYRS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES, DURING THE SIX-
TEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.**

SECTION I.

**BRIEF RELATION OF THE HORRIBLE MASSA-
CRE IN FRANCE, A. D. 1572.**

AFTER a long series of troubles in France, the papists seeing nothing could be done against the Protestants by open force, began to devise how they could entrap them by subtlety, and that by two ways: first by pretending that an army was to be sent into the lower country, under the command of the admiral, prince of Navarre and Condé; not that the king had any intention of so doing, but only with a view to ascertain what force the admiral had under him, who they were, and what were their names. The second was, a marriage suborned between the prince of Navarre and the sister of the king of France; to which were to be invited all the chief Protestants. Accordingly they first began with the queen of Navarre; she consented to come to Paris, where she was at length won over to the king's mind. Shortly after she fell sick, and died within five days, not without suspicion of poison; but her body being opened, no signs thereof appeared. A certain apothecary, however,

made his boast, that he had killed the queen by venomous odours and smells, prepared by himself.

Notwithstanding this, the marriage still proceeded. The admiral prince of Navarre and Condé, with divers other chief states of the Protestants, induced by the king's letters and many fair promises, came to Paris, and were received with great solemnity. The marriage at length took place on the 18th of August, 1572, and was solemnized by the cardinal of Bourbon upon a high stage set up on purpose without the church walls: the prince of Navarre and Condé came down, waiting for the king's sister, who was then at mass. This done, the company all went to the bishop's palace to dinner. In the evening they were conducted to the king's palace to supper. Four days after this, the admiral coming from the council table, on his way was shot at with a pistol, charged with three bullets, and wounded in both his arms. Notwithstanding which, he still remained in Paris, although the Vidam advised him to flee.

Soldiers were appointed in various parts of the city to be ready at a watch-word, upon which they rushed out to the slaughter of the Protestants, beginning with the admiral, who being dreadfully wounded, was cast out of the window into the street, where his head being struck off, was embalmed with spices to be sent to the pope. The savage people then cut off his arms and drew him in that state through the streets of Paris, after which, they took him to the place of execution, out of the city, and there hanged him up by the heels, exposing his mutilated body to the scorn of the populace.

The martyrdom of this virtuous man had no sooner taken place than the armed soldiers ran about slaying all the Protestants they could find within the city. This continued many days, but the greatest slaughter was in

the three first days, in which were said to be murdered above 10,000 men and women, old and young, of all sorts and conditions. The bodies of the dead were carried in carts and thrown into the river, which was all stained therewith; also whole streams in various parts of the city ran with the blood of the slain.

These brutal deeds were not confined within the walls of Paris, but extended into other cities and quarters of the realm, especially to Lyons, Orleans, Toulouse, and Rouen, where the cruelties were unparalleled. Within the space of one month, thirty thousand Protestants, at least, are said to have been slain, as is credibly reported by those who testify of the matter.

When intelligence of the massacre was received at Rome, the greatest rejoicings were made. The pope and cardinals went in solemn procession to the church of St. Mark to give thanks to God. A jubilee was also published, and the ordnance fired from the castle of St. Angelo. To the person who brought the news, the cardinal of Lorraine gave 1000 crowns. Like rejoicings were also made all over France for this imagined overthrow of the faithful.

The following are among the particulars recorded of the above enormities:

The admiral, on being wounded in both his arms, said to Maure, preacher to the queen of Navarre, "O my brother, I now perceive that I am beloved of my God, seeing that for his most holy name's sake I do suffer these wounds." He was slain by Bemjus, who afterwards reported that he never saw man so constantly and confidently suffer death.

Francis Nompar Caumontius, being in bed with his two sons, was slain with one of them: the other was strangely preserved, and afterwards came to great dignity.

Stephen Cevalerie Prime, chief treasurer to the king in Poitiers, a very good man, and careful of the commonwealth, after he had paid for his life a large sum of money, was cruelly and perfidiously murdered.

Magdalen Brissonet, an excellent woman, and learned; the widow of Ivermus, master of requests to the king, flying out of the city in poor apparel, was taken, cruelly murdered, and cast into the river.

Two thousand were murdered in one day; and the same liberty of killing and spoiling continued several days after.

At Meldis, two hundred were cast into prison, and being brought out as sheep to the slaughter, were cruelly murdered. There also were twenty-five women slain.

At Orleans, a thousand men, women, and children, were murdered.

The citizens of Augustobona, hearing of the massacre at Paris, shut the gates of their town that no Protestants might escape, and cast all they suspected into prison, who were afterwards brought forth and murdered.

At Lyons there were 800 men, women, and children, most miserably and cruelly murdered. Three hundred were slain in the archbishop's house. The monks would not suffer their bodies to be buried.

At Toulouse 200 were murdered.

At Rouen 500 were put to death; and as Thuanus writes, "This example passed unto other cities, and from cities to towns and villages, so that it is by many published, that in all the kingdom above 30,000 were in these tumults divers ways destroyed."

A little before this massacre, a man, nurse, and infant, carried to be baptized, were all three murdered.

Bricamotius, a man of seventy years, and Cavagnius, were laid upon hurdles and drawn to execution: and

after being in the way reviled and defiled with dirt cast upon them, they were hanged. The first might have been pardoned, if he would publicly confess, that the admiral had conspired against the king, which he refused to do.

At Bourdeaux, by the instigation of a monk, named Enimund Angerius, 264 persons were cruelly murdered, of whom some were senators. This monk continually provoked the people in his sermons to this slaughter.

At Agendicum, in Maine, a cruel slaughter of the Protestants was committed by the instigation of Æmarus, inquisitor of criminal causes. A rumour being spread abroad that the Protestants had taken secret counsel to invade and spoil the churches, above a hundred of every estate and sex were by the enraged people killed or drowned in the river Igonna, which runs by the city.

On entering Blois, the duke of Guise, (to whom the city had opened its gates) gave it up to rapine and slaughter; houses were spoiled, many Protestants who had remained were slain or drowned in the river; neither were women spared, of whom some were ravished, and more murdered. From thence he went to Mere, a town two leagues from Blois, where the Protestants frequently assembled at sermons; which for many days together was spoiled, many of its inhabitants killed, and Cassebonius, the pastor, drowned in the next river.

John Burgeolus, president of Turin, an old man, being suspected to be a Protestant, having bought with a great sum of money his life and safety, was, notwithstanding, taken and beaten cruelly with clubs and staves, and being stripped of his clothes, was brought to the bank of the river Liger, and hanged with his head downward in the water up to his breast; then the entrails were torn

out, while he was yet alive, and thrown into the river, and his heart put upon a spear, and carried about the city.

The town of Barre being taken by the papists, all kinds of cruelty were there used; children were cut to pieces, and their bowels and hearts being torn out, some of the barbarians, in their blind rage, gnawed them with their teeth.

At Albia of Cahors, upon the Lord's day, the 16th of December, the papists, at the ringing of a bell, broke open the houses in which the Protestants were assembled, and killed all they could find; among whom was one Guacerius, a rich merchant, whom they drew into his house, and then murdered him, with his wife and children.

In a town called Penna, 300 persons (notwithstanding their lives had been promised them,) were murdered by Spaniards, who were newly come to serve the French king.

The prince of Condé being taken prisoner, and his life promised him, was shot in the neck by Montisquius, captain of the duke of Anjou's guard. Thuanus thus speaks of him: "This was the end of Lewis Bourbon, prince of Condé, of the king's blood, a man above the honour of his birth, most honourable in courage and virtue, who in valour, constancy, wit, wisdom, experience, courtesy, eloquence, and liberality, all which virtues excelled in him, had few equals, and none, even by the confession of his enemies, superior to him."

At Orleans 100 men and women being committed to prison, were, by the furious people, most cruelly murdered.

The enemies of the truth, now glutted with slaughter, began every where to triumph in the fallacious opinion,

that they were the sole lords of men's consciences; and, truly, it might appear to human reason, that by the destruction of his people, God had abandoned the earth to the ravages of his enemy. But he had otherwise decreed, and thousands yet, who had not *bowed the knee to Baal*, were called forth to *glory and virtue*. The inhabitants of Rochelle, hearing of the cruelties committed on their brethren, resolved to defend themselves against the power of the king; and their example was followed by various other towns, with which they entered into a confederacy, exhorting and inspiring one another in the common cause. To crush this, the king shortly after summoned the whole power of France, and the greatest of his nobility, among whom were his royal brothers; he then invested Rochelle by sea and land, and commenced a furious siege, which, but for the immediate hand of God, must have ended in its destruction.

Seven assaults were made against the town, none of which succeeded. At one time a breach was made by the tremendous cannonade; but through the undaunted valour of the citizens, assisted even by their wives and daughters, the soldiers were driven back with great slaughter.

The siege lasted seven months, when the duke of Anjou being proclaimed king of Poland, he, in concert with the king of France, entered into a treaty with the people of Rochelle, which ended in a peace: conditions, containing 25 articles, having been drawn up by the latter, embracing many immunities both for themselves and other Protestants in France, were confirmed by the king, and proclaimed with great rejoicings at Rochelle and other cities.

The year following died Charles IX. of France, the

tyrant who had been so instrumental in the calamities above recorded. He was only in the 25th year of his age, and his death was remarkable and dreadful. When lying on his bed, the blood gushed from various parts of his body, and, after lingering in horrible torments during many months, he at length expired.

THE MASSACRE AT VASSY, IN CHAMPAIGNE.

The duke of Guise, on his arrival at Joinville, asked, whether the people of Vassy used to have sermons preached constantly by their minister? It was answered, they had, and that they increased daily. At the hearing of which report, he fell into a violent passion; and upon Saturday, the last day of February, 1562, that he might the more covertly execute his conceived wrath against the Protestants of Vassy, he departed from Joinville, accompanied with the cardinal of Guise, his brother, and those of their train, and lodged in the village of Dammartin, distant about two miles and a half.

The next day, after he had heard mass very early in the morning, he left Dammartin, with about two hundred armed men, passing along to Vassy. As he went by the village of Bronzeval, which is distant from Vassy a quarter of a mile, the bell (after the usual manner,) rang for sermon. The duke hearing it, asked those he met, why the bell rang so loud. A person named La Montague told him, it was for the assembling of the Hugonots; adding, that there were many in the said Bronzeval who frequented the sermons preached at Vassy; therefore, that the duke would do well to begin there, and offer them violence. But the duke answered, "March on, march on, we shall take them amongst the rest of the assembly."

Now, there were certain soldiers and archers accompanying the duke, who compassed about Vassy; most of them being lodged in the houses of papists. The Saturday before the slaughter, they were seen to make ready their weapons, arquebuses, and pistols; but the faithful not dreaming of such a conspiracy, thought the duke would offer them no violence, being the king's subjects; also, that not above two months before, the duke and his brethren passing by the said Vassy, gave no sign of their displeasure.

The duke of Guise being arrived at Vassy, with all his troops, they went directly towards the common-hall or market-house, and then entered into the monastery; where, having called to him one Dessales, the prior of Vassy, and another whose name was Claude le Sain, provost of Vassy, he talked a while with them, and issued hastily out of the monastery, attended by many of his followers. Then command was given to the papists, to retire into the monastery, and not to be seen in the streets, unless they would venture the loss of their lives. The duke perceiving others of his retinue to be walking to and fro under the town-hall, and about the church-yard, commanded them to march on towards the place where the sermon was, being in a barn, about a hundred paces distant from the monastery. This command was put in execution by such of the company as went on foot. He that marched foremost of this rabble, was La Brosse, and on the side of these marched the horsemen, after whom followed the duke with another company of his own followers, likewise those of the cardinal of Guise, his brother. By this time, Mr. Leonard Morel, the minister, after the first prayer, had begun his sermon before his auditors, who might amount to about twelve hundred men, women, and children. The horsemen

first approaching to the barn within about twenty-five paces, shot off two arquebuses right upon those who were placed in the galleries joining to the windows. The people within perceiving this, endeavoured to shut the door, but were prevented by the ruffians rushing in upon them, who drawing their swords, furiously cried out, "Death of God, kill, kill these Hugonots."

Three persons were slain at the door; and the duke of Guise, with his company, rushed in among the congregation, striking the poor people down with their swords, daggers and cutlasses, not sparing any age or sex: besides, they within were so astonished, that they knew not which way to turn them, but running hither and thither, fell one upon another, flying as poor sheep before a company of ravening wolves entering in among the flock. Some of the murderers shot off their pieces against them that were in the galleries; others cut in pieces such as they lighted upon; some had their heads cleft in twain, their arms and hands cut off; so that many of them gave up the ghost even in the place. The walls and galleries of the place were dyed with the blood of those who were every where murdered: yea, so great was the fury of the murderers, that part of the people within were forced to break open the roof of the house, in hopes to save themselves upon the top thereof. Being got thither, and then fearing to fall again into the hands of these cruel tigers, some of them leaped over the walls of the city, which were very high, flying into the woods and amongst the vines, which with most expedition they could soonest attain unto; some hurt in their arms, others in their heads, and other parts of their bodies. The duke presented himself in the house with his sword drawn in his hand, charging his men to kill especially the young men.

During this slaughter, the cardinal of Guise remained before the church of Vassy, leaning upon the walls of the church-yard, looking towards the place where his followers were busied in killing and slaying all they could. Many of this assembly being thus hotly pursued, did in the first brunt save themselves upon the roof of the house, not being discerned by those who stood without: but at length some of this bloody crew espying where they lay hid, shot at them with long pieces, wherewith many of them were hurt and slain. The household servants of Dessalles, prior of Vassy, shooting at the people on the roof, one of that wretched company was not ashamed to boast, after the massacre was ended, that he for his part had caused six at least to tumble down in that pitiful plight, saying, that if others had done the like, not many of them could possibly have escaped.

The minister, in the beginning of the massacre, ceased not to preach, till one discharged his piece against the pulpit where he stood, after which, falling down upon his knees, he entreated the Lord not only to have mercy upon himself, but also upon his poor persecuted flock. Having ended his prayer, he left his gown behind him, thinking thereby to keep himself unknown: but whilst he approached towards the door, in his fear he stumbled upon a dead body, where he received a blow with a sword upon his right shoulder. Getting up again, and then thinking to get forth, he was immediately laid hold of, and grievously hurt on the head with a sword, whereupon being felled to the ground, and thinking himself mortally wounded, he cried, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, thou God of truth." While he thus prayed one of this bloody crew ran upon him, with an intent to have ham-

stringed him; but it pleased God his sword broke in the hilt. Two gentlemen knowing him, said, "He is the minister, let him be conveyed to my lord duke." Then leading him away by both the arms, they brought him before the gate of the monastery, from whence the duke, and the cardinal his brother, coming forth, said, "Come hither;" and asked him, saying, "Art thou the minister of this place? Who made thee so bold to seduce this people thus?" "Sir," said the minister, "I am no seducer, for I have preached to them the gospel of Jesus Christ." The duke perceiving that this answer condemned his cruel outrages, began to curse and swear, saying, "Death of God, doth the gospel preach sedition? Provost, go and let a gibbet be set up, and hang this fellow." At which words the minister was delivered into the hands of two pages, who misused him vilely. The women of the city, being ignorant papists, caught up dirt to throw in his face, and with great outcries, said, "Kill him, kill this varlet, who hath been the cause of the death of so many." In the mean time, the duke went into the barn, to whom they presented a great Bible, which they used for the service of God. The duke taking it into his hands, calling his brother the cardinal, said, "Lo, here is one of the Hugonot books." The cardinal viewing it, said, "There is nothing but good in this book, for it is the Bible, to wit, the Holy Scriptures." The duke being offended, that his brother suited not to his humour, grew into a greater rage than before, saying, "Blood of God, how now? What! the Holy Scripture? It is one thousand five hundred years ago since Jesus Christ suffered his death and passion, and it is but a year since these books were printed, how then say you that this is the gospel? You say you know not what." This unbridled fury of the

duke displeased the cardinal, so that he was heard secretly to mutter, "An unworthy brother!"

This massacre continued a full hour, the duke's trumpeters sounding the while two several times. When any of these desired to have mercy showed them for the love of Jesus Christ, the murderers in scorn would say unto them: "You use the name of Christ, but where is your Christ now?"

There died in this massacre, within a few days, three-score persons; besides these, there were about two hundred and fifty, as well men as women, that were wounded, whereof many died. The poor's box, which was fastened to the door of the church with two iron hooks, containing twelve pounds, was wrested thence, and never restored.

The minister was closely confined and frequently threatened to be sewed up in a sack and drowned. He was, however, on the 8th of May, 1563, liberated at the earnest suit of the prince of Portien.

MASSACRE AT ORLEANS.

Dechampeaux, lord of Bouilli, a counsellor of Orleans, was murdered in the following manner: One called Texier came with a small troop to his house, inviting himself and company to supper with him. Dechampeaux bid them all kindly welcome, being ignorant of what had happened at Paris. But supper being ended, Texier bade him deliver his purse, at which Dechampeaux laughed, thinking he had been in jest. But this cruel guest, with blasphemous oaths, told him in a few words what had occurred at Paris, and what preparations the Roman Catholics of Orleans were making to

root out the Protestants there. Dechampeaux finding it in vain to contest with him, gave him money: when, to requite the courtesy and good entertainment he had received, Texier imbrued his hands in his blood, and afterwards pillaged the house.

On the 26th of August following the massacre was begun. All night was heard nothing but firing of guns and pistols, forcing open of doors and windows, fearful outcries of men, women, and little children, trampling of horses, and rumbling of carts, hurrying off dead bodies to and fro.

The massacre was continued the next day, and to the end of the week: "Where is now your God?" cried the murderers; "What is become of all your prayers and psalms now? Let your God, whom you called upon, save you if he can!" Yea, some of them, who had been professors of the same religion, whilst they were massacring the poor innocents, sung, unto them in scorn, the beginning of the 43d psalm: "Judge me, O God, and plead my cause." Others, striking them, said, "Sing now, 'Have mercy on me, O God.'" But these execrable outrages by no means daunted the courage of the Christians, who died steadfast in the faith. The murderers boasted, that in this city they caused eighteen thousand men to perish, a hundred and fifty women, with a great number of children of nine years old and upwards. The manner of their death was, first to shoot them with pistols, then to strip them, and either sink their bodies in the river, or bury them in pits.

At night, several of this bloody crew knocked at the door of a doctor of civil law, called Taillebous: who came down immediately, and opened the door to them. They immediately told him he must die. Whereupon he uttered a prayer to heaven with such zeal and affec-

tion, that the murderers, being astonished, and restrained by a secret power, contented themselves with taking his purse, and so left him.

The day following, some students resorting to his lodging, requested to see his library, into which he brought them, one asked this book of him, and another that, which he gave them. At length they told him they were not as yet satisfied, their purpose being to kill him. He, prostrating himself upon the ground, and having ended his prayer, desired them to kill him there, but they forced him out of his own house, from one place to another, and at length despatched him.

A rich burgess of the city, called Nicholas Bougars, *Sieur de Nove*, a man of singular worth, and highly esteemed, was at that time dangerously ill. Some of the murderers came into the chamber intending to kill him: but seeing him in that case spared him: yet finding there Noel Chaperon, an apothecary, they cut off one of his arms, then drew him into the market-place, where they made an end of him.

The next day, an acquaintance came to the lodging of Nicholas Bougars; as he was entering, he met the mother of Nicholas at the door. He then proceeded into the chamber, stabbed the sick man with a dagger in many places, and so killed him. Then with all silence, as if he had done no such act, wiping his dagger, he went down stairs again, without any change in his behaviour or countenance.

Francis Stample, a rich merchant, was threatened to have his throat cut if he refused to give the murderers money: but having got none about him, he wrote to his wife to send him his ransom: he had no sooner sealed the letter, but the monsters put him to death; and though

they got from his widow a considerable sum of money, yet could she not obtain from them the body of her husband.

Among those that confessed the name of Jesus Christ, Francis le Bosst, a merchant, with his two sons, well deserve our notice; for whilst he trampled in the blood of his brethren, being besmeared therewith, he encouraged his children to take their death willingly and patiently. When he saw the murderers come, he clasped his arms about his two sons, and they likewise embraced their father; and thus embracing, they were all three found dead.

At the conclusion of this furious assault, the perpetrators went up and down the city, displaying their white doublets, all sprinkled with blood: some boasting, that they had killed a hundred, some more, some less.

THE POPE'S LEGATE ABSOLVES THE MURDERERS OF THE PROTESTANTS.

Not many months after, when these tragedies were ended, the pope sent cardinal Ursin, as legate to the king, who was received with great solemnity at Lyons. On his return from St. John's church, where he had been to hear mass, a great number of persons presented themselves before him, at the door, and kneeled down for his absolution. But the legate not knowing the reason of it, one of the leaders told him they were those who had been the actors in the massacre. On which the cardinal immediately absolved them all.

MASSACRE AT ANGERS.

As soon as the massacre commenced at Paris, a gentleman, named Monsoreau, obtained a passport with letters to massacre the Protestants at Angers. Being disappointed of his prey in one place, he came to the lodging of a reverend and learned minister, Mr. John Mason. Meeting his wife at the entrance of the house, he saluted her, and asked her "where her husband was?" She answered him, "That he was walking in his garden."

He immediately went in search of him; and meeting him, embraced him, and said, "Do you know wherefore I am come? The king hath commanded me to kill you forthwith, and hath given me express charge to do it, as you shall see by his letters." Upon which he showed him a pistol ready charged. Riviere replied, "That he knew not wherein he had offended the king; but seeing," said he, "you seek my life, give me a little time to recommend my spirit into the hands of God."

Having made a short prayer, he presented his body to the murderer, who shot him immediately. His wife was soon after drowned, with nine others; and six thousand were murdered at Rouen in much the same manner.

The king of France proposed three things to the prince of Condé: "Either to go to mass, to die, or else to be perpetually imprisoned; and therefore to weigh well with himself which he liked best." The prince answered, "That by God's grace he would never choose the first; as for the latter, he referred himself to the king's pleasure."

About three hundred were barbarously murdered at Thoulouse, and after taking all their goods, their bodies

were stripped naked, and exposed to public view for two days, and then thrown in heaps into great pits. Certain counsellors, after they were massacred, were hung up in their long gowns, upon a great elm which was in the court of the palace.

MASSACRE AT BOURDEAUX.

The massacre at Bourdeaux was begun and carried on much in the same manner as those before-mentioned. But their ministers found means to escape, hiding themselves in the rocks and marshes, till they had an opportunity to take shipping for England.

One thing is worthy of notice. The house of a counsellor in parliament was forced open, pillaged, and spoiled. His clerk seeing his master about to suffer a cruel death, embraced and comforted him: and being asked whether he were of the same religion, he answered, "Yea, and would die with his master, for the same." And they were slain in one another's arms.

Du Tour, a deacon of the reformed church, an old man, who in the days of his ignorance had been a priest in the popish church, being sick in his bed, was dragged into the open street, and was asked, "whether he would go to mass, and thereby save his life?" he freely answered, "No, particularly as I am now drawing so near my end, both by age and sickness: I hope," continued he, "I shall not so far forget the eternal salvation of my soul, as for fear of death to prolong this life for a few days; for thus I should buy a short term of life at too dear a rate:" on which they slew him instantly.

The poor Protestants wandered up and down, not knowing where to save their lives: some were rejected.

of their own parents and relations, who shut their doors against them, pretending that they knew them not; others were betrayed and delivered up by those to whose friendship they had committed themselves: many were saved even by priests and others, from whom they had little reason to expect such security; but whose hearts abhorred those detestable outrages. All the city was full of terror and horrible threats against them, saying, that the king's commandment was, that he would not have so much as one of them left in his kingdom; and if any refused to go to mass, that a hole should be digged for him in the earth, in which he should be buried without any more ado.

The judgment of God was manifested upon one of these inhuman murderers, called Vincent: he fell dangerously sick, but in the end recovering again as he thought, told some of his friends that he felt his arms strong enough to handle his cutlass as well as ever. But shortly after he was overtaken by the hand of God, with such a bleeding at his nose, as could not be restrained by any of the remedies that were used. It was a hideous sight to see him continually bowing his head over a basin full of blood, which, without ceasing, issued out of his nose and mouth, until his last gasp.

Another was taken with such a swelling in all the parts of his body, that there was scarcely to be discerned the form of a man, and thus he continued swelling till at length he burst asunder.

Thus during the extreme afflictions of the reformed churches in many parts of France, there were within a few weeks, nigh 30,000 put to death.

BOOK VII.

FARTHER ACCOUNTS OF THE PERSECUTIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

SECTION I.

PERSECUTIONS IN BOHEMIA AND GERMANY.

THE severity exercised by the Roman Catholics over the reformed Bohemians, induced the latter to send two ministers and four laymen to Rome, in the year 977, to seek redress from the pope. After some delay their request was granted, and their grievances redressed. Two things in particular were permitted to them, viz. to have divine service in their own language, and to give the cup in the sacrament to the laity. The disputes, however, soon broke out again, the succeeding popes exerting all their power to resume their tyranny over the minds of the Bohemians; and the latter, with great spirit, aiming to preserve their religious liberties.

Some zealous friends of the gospel, applied to Charles, king of Bohemia, A. D. 1375, to call a council for an inquiry into the abuses that had crept into the church, and to make a thorough reformation. Charles, at a loss how to proceed, sent to the pope for advice; the latter, incensed at the affair, only replied, "Punish severely those presumptuous and profane heretics." The king, accordingly, banished every one who had been con-

cerned in the application; and, to show his zeal for the pope, laid many additional restraints upon the reformed Christians of the country.

The martyrdom of John Huss and Jerome of Prague,* greatly increased the indignation of the believers, and gave animation to their cause. These two great pious men were condemned by order of the council of Constance, when fifty-eight of the principal Bohemian nobility interposed in their favour. Nevertheless they were burnt; and the pope, in conjunction with the council of Constance, ordered the Romish clergy, every where, to excommunicate all who adopted their opinions, or murmured at their fate. *In consequence of these orders great contentions arose between the papists and reformed Bohemians, which produced a violent persecution against the latter. At Prague it was extremely severe, till, at length, the reformed, driven to desperation, armed themselves, attacked the senate-house, and cast twelve of its members, with the speaker, out of the windows. The pope, hearing of this, went to Florence, and publicly excommunicated the reformed Bohemians, exciting the emperor of Germany, and all other kings, princes, dukes, &c. to take up arms, in order to extirpate the whole race; promising, by way of encouragement, full remission of all sins to the most wicked person who should kill one Bohemian Protestant. The result of this was a bloody war; for several popish princes undertook the extirpation, or at least expulsion, of the proscribed people: while the Bohemians, arming themselves, prepared to repel them in the most vigorous

* These two great men were first brought to the light of truth by reading the doctrines of our countryman John Wickliffe, who, like the morning star of reformation, first burst from the dark night of popish error, and illuminated the surrounding world,

manner. The popish army prevailing against the Protestant forces at the battle of Cuttenburgh, they conveyed their prisoners to three deep mines near that town, and threw several hundred into each, where they perished in a miserable manner.

A bigoted popish magistrate, named Pichel, seized twenty-four Protestants, among whom was his daughter's husband. On their all confessing themselves of the reformed religion, he sentenced them to be drowned in the river Abbis. On the day of the execution a great concourse of people attended; and Pichel's daughter threw herself at her father's feet, bedewed them with tears, and implored him to pardon her husband. The obdurate magistrate sternly replied, "Intercede not for him, child; he is a heretic, a vile heretic." To which she nobly answered, "Whatever his faults may be, or however his opinions may differ from your's, he is still my husband, a thought which, at a time like this, should alone employ my whole consideration." Pichel flew into a violent passion, and said, "You are mad! cannot you, after his death, have a much worthier husband?" "No, Sir," replied she, "my affections are fixed upon him, and death itself shall not dissolve my marriage vow." Pichel, however, continued inflexible. and ordered the prisoners to be tied with their hands and feet behind them, and in that manner thrown into the river. This being put into execution, the young lady watched her opportunity, leaped into the waves, and embracing the body of her husband, both sunk together.

LIFE, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOM OF JOHN HUSS.

John Huss was born in the village of Hussenitz, in Bohemia, about the year 1380. His parents gave him

the best education they could bestow, and having acquired a tolerable knowledge of the classics, at a private school, he was sent to the University of Prague, where the powers of his mind, and his diligence in study, soon rendered him conspicuous.

In 1408, he commenced bachelor of divinity, and was successively chosen pastor of the church of Bethlehem, in Prague, and dean and rector of the university. The duties of these stations he discharged with great fidelity, and became at length so conspicuous for the boldness and truth of his preaching, that he attracted the notice, and raised the malignity of the pope and his creatures.

His influence in the university was very great, not only on account of his learning, eloquence, and exemplary life, but also on account of some valuable privileges he had obtained from the king in behalf of that seminary.

The English reformer, Wickliffe, had so kindled the light of reformation, that it began to illumine the darkest corners of popery and ignorance. His doctrines were received in Bohemia with avidity and zeal, by great numbers of people, but by none so particularly as John Huss, and his friend and fellow martyr, Jerome of Prague.

The reformists daily increasing, the archbishop of Prague issued a decree to prevent the farther spreading of Wickliffe's writings. This, however, had an effect quite the reverse to what he expected, for it stimulated the converts to greater zeal, and, at length, almost the whole university united in promoting them.

Strongly attached to the doctrines of Wickliffe, Huss strenuously opposed the decree of the archbishop, who, notwithstanding, obtained a bull from the pope, authorizing him to prevent the publishing of Wickliffe's

writings in his province. By virtue of this bull, he proceeded against four doctors, who had not delivered up some copies, and prohibited them to preach. Against these proceedings, Huss, with some other members of the university, protested, and entered an appeal from the sentences of the archbishop. The pope no sooner heard of this, than he granted a commission to cardinal Colonna, to cite John Huss to appear at the court of Rome, to answer accusations laid against him, of preaching heresies. From this appearance, Huss desired to be excused, and so greatly was he favoured in Bohemia, that king Wincellaus, the queen, the nobility, and the university, desired the pope to dispense with such an appearance; as also that he would not suffer the kingdom of Bohemia to lie under the accusation of heresy, but permit them to preach the gospel with freedom in their places of worship.

Three proctors appeared for Huss before cardinal Colonna. They made an excuse for his absence, and said, they were ready to answer in his behalf. But the cardinal declared him contumacious, and accordingly excommunicated him. On this the proctors appealed to the pope, who appointed four cardinals to examine the process: these commissioners confirmed the sentence of the cardinal, and extended the excommunication, not only to Huss, but to all his friends and followers. Huss then appealed from this unjust sentence to a future council, but without success; and, notwithstanding so severe a decree, and an expulsion from his church in Prague, he retired to Hussenitz, his native place, where he continued to promulgate the truth, both from the pulpit, and with the pen.

He here compiled a treatise, in which he maintained, that reading the books of Protestants could not be abso-

lutely forbidden. He wrote in defence of Wickliffe's book on the Trinity; and boldly declared against the vices of the pope, the cardinals, and the clergy of those corrupt times. Besides these, he wrote many other books, all of which were penned with such strength of argument, as greatly facilitated the spreading of his doctrines.

In England, the persecutions against the Protestants had been carried on for some time with relentless cruelty. They now extended to Germany and Bohemia, where Huss, and Jerome of Prague, were particularly singled out to suffer in the cause of religion.

In the month of November, 1414, a general council was assembled at Constance, in Germany, for the purpose of determining a dispute then existing between three persons who contended for the papal throne.

John Huss was summoned to appear at this council; and to dispel any apprehensions of danger, the emperor sent him a safe-conduct, giving him permission freely to come to, and return from the council. On receiving this information, he told the persons who delivered it, "That he desired nothing more than to purge himself publicly of the imputation of heresy; and that he esteemed himself happy in having so fair an opportunity of it, as at the council to which he was summoned to attend."

In the latter end of November, he set out to Constance, accompanied by two Bohemian noblemen, who were among the most eminent of his disciples, and who followed him merely through respect and affection. He caused some placards to be fixed upon the gates of the churches of Prague, in which he declared, that he went to the council to answer all allegations that might be made against him. He also declared, in all the cities

through which he passed, that he was going to vindicate himself at Constance, and invited all his adversaries to be present.

On his way he met with every mark of affection and reverence from people of all descriptions. The streets, and even the roads, were thronged with people, whom respect, rather than curiosity, had brought together. He was ushered into the towns with great acclamations; and he passed through Germany in a kind of triumph. "I thought," said he, "I had been an outcast. I now see my worst friends are in Bohemia."

On his arrival at Constance, he immediately took lodgings in a remote part of the city. Soon after, came one Stephen Paletz, who was engaged by the clergy at Prague to manage the intended prosecution against him. Paletz was afterwards joined by Michael de Cassis, on the part of the court of Rome. These two declared themselves his accusers, and drew up articles against him, which they presented to the pope, and the prelates of the council.

Notwithstanding the promise of the emperor, to give him a safe-conduct to and from Constance, he regarded not his word; but, according to the maxim of the council, that "Faith is not to be kept with heretics," when it was known he was in the city, he was immediately arrested, and committed prisoner to a chamber in the palace. This breach was particularly noticed by one of Huss' friends, who urged the imperial safe-conduct; but the pope replied, *he* never granted any such thing, nor was he bound by that of the *emperor*.

While Huss was under confinement, the council acted the part of inquisitors. They condemned the doctrines of Wickliffe, and, in their important malice, ordered

his remains to be dug up, and burnt to ashes; which orders were obeyed.

In the mean time the nobility of Bohemia and Poland used all their interests for Huss; and so far prevailed as to prevent his being condemned unheard, which had been resolved on by the commissioners appointed to try him.

Before his trial took place, his enemies employed a Franciscan friar, who might entangle him in his words, and then appear against him. This man, of great ingenuity and subtlety, came to him in the character of an idiot, and with seeming sincerity and zeal, requested to be taught his doctrines. But Huss soon discovered him, and told him that his manners wore a great semblance of simplicity; but that his questions discovered a depth and design beyond the reach of an idiot. He afterwards found this pretended fool to be Didace, one of the deepest logicians in Lombardy.

At length he was brought before the council, when the articles exhibited against him were read: they were upwards of forty in number, and chiefly extracted from his writings.

On his examination being finished, he was taken from the court, and a resolution was formed by the council, to burn him as a heretic, unless he retracted. He was then committed to a filthy prison, where, in the day-time, he was so laden with fetters on his legs, that he could hardly move; and every night he was fastened by his hands to a ring against the walls of the prison.

He continued some days in this situation, in which time many noblemen of Bohemia interceded in his behalf. They drew up a petition for his release, which was presented to the council by several of the most illustrious nobles of Bohemia; notwithstanding which,

so many enemies had Huss in that court, that no attention was paid to it, and the persecuted reformer was compelled to bear with the punishment inflicted on him by that merciless tribunal.

Shortly after the petition was presented, four bishops, and two lords, were sent by the emperor to the prison, in order to prevail on Huss to make a recantation. But he called God to witness, that he was not conscious of having preached, or written, any thing against his truth, or the faith of his orthodox church. The deputies then represented the great wisdom and authority of the council: to which Huss replied, "Let them send the meanest person of that council, who can convince me by argument from the word of God, and I will submit my judgment to him." This pious answer had no effect, because he would not take the authority of the council upon trust, without the least shadow of an argument offered. The deputies, therefore, finding they could make no impression on him, departed, greatly astonished at the strength of his resolution.

On the 4th of July, he was, for the last time, brought before the council. After a long examination, he was desired to abjure, which he refused, without the least hesitation. The bishop of Lodi then preached a sermon, the text of which was, "Let the body of sin be destroyed," (concerning the destruction of heretics) the prologue to his intended punishment. After the close of the sermon his fate was determined, his vindication rejected, and judgment pronounced. The council censured him for being obstinate and incorrigible, and ordained, "That he should be degraded from the priesthood, his books publicly burnt, and himself delivered to the secular power."

He received the sentence without the least emotion;

and at the close of it he kneeled down with his eyes lifted towards heaven, and, with all the magnanimity of a primitive martyr, thus exclaimed: "May thy infinite mercy, O my God! pardon this injustice of mine enemies. Thou knowest the injustice of my accusations: how deformed with crimes I have been represented; how I have been oppressed with worthless witnesses, and a false condemnation; yet, O my God! let that mercy of thine, which no tongue can express, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs." These excellent sentences were received as so many expressions of heresy, and only tended to inflame his adversaries. Accordingly, the bishops appointed by the council, stripped him of his priestly garments, degraded him, and put a paper mitre on his head, on which were painted devils, with this inscription: "A ringleader of heretics."

This mockery was received by the heroic martyr with an air of unconcern, which appeared to give him dignity rather than disgrace. A serenity appeared in his looks, which indicated that his soul had cut off many stages of a tedious journey in her way to the realms of everlasting happiness.

The ceremony of degradation being over, the bishops delivered him to the emperor, who committed him to the care of the duke of Bavaria. His books were burnt at the gate of the church; and on the 6th of July he was led to the suburbs of Constance, to be burnt alive.

When he had reached the place of execution, he fell on his knees, sung several portions of the Psalms, looked steadfastly towards heaven, and repeated, "Into thy hands, O Lord! do I commit my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O most good and faithful God."

As soon as the chain was put about him at the stake, he said, with a smiling countenance, "My Lord Jesus

Christ was bound with a harder chain than this, for my sake, why then should I be ashamed of this old rusty one?"

When the fagots were piled around him, the duke of Bavaria desired him to abjure. "No," said he, "I never preached any doctrine of an evil tendency; and what I taught with my lips I now seal with my blood." He then said to the executioner, "You are now going to burn a *goose*, (*Huss* signifying *goose* in the Bohemian language) but in a century you will have a *swan* whom you can neither roast nor boil." If this were spoken in prophecy, he must have meant Martin Luther, who flourished about a century after, and who had a *swan* for his arms.

As soon as the fagots were lighted, the heroic martyr sung a hymn, with so loud and cheerful a voice, that he was heard through all the cracklings of the combustibles, and the noise of the multitude. At length his voice was interrupted by the flames, which soon put a period to his life.

LIFE, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOM OF JEROME OF PRAGUE.

This hero in the cause of truth, was born at Prague, and educated in its university, where he soon became distinguished for his learning and eloquence. Having completed his studies, he travelled over great part of Europe and visited many of the seats of learning, particularly the universities of Paris, Heidelberg, Cologne, and Oxford. At the latter he became acquainted with the works of Wickliffe, and translated many of them into his own language.

On his return to Prague he openly professed the doctrines of Wickliffe, and finding that they had made a considerable progress in Bohemia, from the industry and zeal of Huss, he became an assistant to him in the great work of reformation.

On the 4th of April, 1415, Jerome went to Constance. This was about three months before the death of Huss. He entered the town privately, and consulting with some of the leaders of his party, was easily convinced that he could render his friend no service.

Finding that his arrival at Constance was publicly known, and that the council intended to seize him, he retired, and went to Iberling, an imperial town, a short distance from Constance. While here, he wrote to the emperor, and declared his readiness to appear before the council, if a safe-conduct were granted to him; this, however, was refused.

After this, he caused papers to be put up in all the public places in Constance, particularly on the doors of the cardinals' houses. In these he professed his willingness to appear at Constance in the defence of his character and doctrine, both which, he said, had been greatly falsified. He farther declared, that if any error should be proved against him, he would retract it; desiring only that the faith of the council might be given for his security.

Receiving no answer to these papers, he set out on his return to Bohemia, taking the precaution to carry with him a certificate, signed by several of the Bohemian nobility then at Constance, testifying that he had used every prudent means, in his power, to procure an audience.

He was, however, notwithstanding this, seized on his way, without any authority, at Hirsaw, by an officer be-

longing to the duke of Sultzbach, who hoped thereby to receive commendations from the council for so acceptable a service.

- The duke of Sultzbach immediately wrote to the council, informing them what he had done, and asking directions how to proceed with Jerome. The council, after expressing their obligations to the duke, desired him to send the prisoner immediately to Constance. He was, accordingly, conveyed thither in irons, and, on his way, was met by the elector palatine, who caused a long chain to be fastened to him, by which he was dragged, like a wild beast, to the cloister, whence, after an examination, he was conveyed to a tower, and fastened to a block, with his legs in stocks. In this manner he remained eleven days and nights, till becoming dangerously ill in consequence, his persecutors, in order to gratify their malice still farther, relieved him from that painful state.

He remained confined till the martyrdom of his friend Huss; after which, he was brought forth, and threatened with immediate torments and death if he remained obstinate. Terrified at the preparations which he beheld, he, in a moment of weakness, forgot his resolution, abjured his doctrines, and confessed that Huss merited his fate, and that both he and Wickliffe were heretics. In consequence of this, his chains were taken off, and he was treated more kindly; he was, however, still confined, but in hopes of liberation. But his enemies, suspecting his sincerity, proposed another form of recantation to be drawn up and proposed to him. To this, however, he refused to answer, except in public, and was, accordingly, brought before the council, when, to the astonishment of his auditors, and to the glory of truth, he renounced his recantation, and requested permission to plead his own cause, which was refused; and

the charges against him were read, in which he was accused of being a derider of the papal dignity, an opposer of the pope, an enemy to the cardinals, a persecutor of the prelates, and a hater of the Christian religion.

To these charges Jerome answered with an amazing force of elocution, and strength of argument. After which he was remanded to his prison.

The third day from this, his trial was brought on, and witnesses were examined. He was prepared for his defence, although he had been nearly a year shut up in loathsome prisons, deprived of the light of day, and almost starved for want of common necessities. But his spirit soared above these disadvantages.

The most bigoted of the assembly were unwilling he should be heard, dreading the effect of eloquence in the cause of truth, on the minds of the most prejudiced. At length, however, it was carried by the majority, that he should have liberty to proceed in his defence; which he began in such an exalted strain, and continued in such a torrent of elocution, that the most obdurate heart was melted, and the mind of superstition seemed to admit a ray of conviction.

Bigotry, however, prevailed, and his trial being ended, he received the same sentence as had been passed upon his martyred countryman, and was, in the usual style of popish duplicity, delivered over to the civil power; but, being a layman, he had not to undergo the ceremony of degradation.

Two days his execution was delayed, in hopes that he would recant; in which time the cardinal of Florence used his utmost endeavours to bring him over. But they all proved ineffectual: Jerome was resolved to seal his doctrine with his blood.

On his way to the place of execution he sung several hymns; and on arriving there, he knelt down, and prayed fervently. He embraced the stake with great cheerfulness and resolution; and when the executioner went behind him to set fire to the fagots, he said, "Come here, and kindle it before my eyes; for had I been afraid of it, I had not come here, having had so many opportunities to escape."

When the flames enveloped him, he sung a hymn; and the last words he was heard to say were,

"This soul in flames I offer, Christ, to thee!"

BOOK VIII.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE PROTESTANTS, IN VARIOUS FOREIGN COUNTRIES, NOT BEFORE DESCRIBED.

SECTION I.

PERSECUTIONS IN ABYSSINIA.

ABOUT the end of the fifteenth century, some Portuguese missionaries made a voyage to Abyssinia, and began to propagate the Roman Catholic doctrines among the Abyssinians, who professed Christianity before the arrival of the missionaries.

The priests gained such an influence at court, that the emperor consented to abolish the established rites of the Ethiopian church, and to admit those of Rome; and, soon after, consented to receive a patriarch from the pope, and to acknowledge the supremacy of the latter. This innovation, however, did not take place without great opposition. Several of the most powerful lords, and a majority of the people, who professed the primitive Christianity established in Abyssinia, took up arms, in their defence, against the emperor. Thus, by the artifices of the court of Rome and its emissaries, the whole empire was thrown into commotion, and a war commenced, which was carried on through the reigns of many emperors, and which ceased not for above a century. All this time the Roman Catholics were strength-

ened by the power of the court, by means of which conjunction, the primitive Christians of Abyssinia were severely persecuted, and multitudes perished by the hands of their inhuman enemies.

PERSECUTIONS IN TURKEY.—ACCOUNT OF MAHOMET.

Mahomet was born at Mecca, in Arabia, A. D. 571. His parents were poor, and his education mean; but by the force of his genius, and an uncommon subtlety, he raised himself to be the founder of a widely spread religion, and the sovereign of kingdoms. His Alcoran is a jumble of paganism, judaism, and Christianity. In composing it, he is said to have been assisted by a Jew and a Roman Catholic priest. It is adapted entirely to the sensual appetites and passions; and the chief promises held out by it to its believers of the joys of paradise are women and wine. Mahomet established his doctrine by the power of the sword. "The sword," says he, "is the key of heaven and of hell. Whoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven him: his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion, and odoriferous as musk: the loss of his limbs shall be supplied with the wings of angels." He allowed that Christ was a great prophet and a holy man; that he was born of a virgin, received up into glory, and shall come again to destroy Antichrist.

He, therefore, in his early career, affected to respect the Christians. But no sooner was his power established, than he displayed himself in his true colours, as their determined and sanguinary enemy. This he proved by his persecutions of them in his life-time, and by commanding those persecutions to be continued by his deluded followers, in his Alcoran, particularly in that part

entitled, "The Chapter of the Sword." From him the Turks received their religion, which they still maintain. Mahomet and his descendants, in the space of thirty years, subdued Arabia, Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia. They soon, however, broke into divisions and wars amongst themselves. But the princes of the Saracens, assuming the title of sultan, continued their rule over Syria, Egypt, and Africa, for the space of about 400 years, when the Saracen king of Persia, commencing war against the Saracen sultan of Babylon, the latter brought to his aid the Turks. These Turks, feeling their own strength, in time turned their arms against their masters, and by the valour of Othman, from whom the family who now fill the Turkish throne are descended, they soon subdued them, and established their empire.

Constantinople, after having been for many ages an imperial Christian city, was invested, in 1453, by the Turks, under Mahomet the Second, whose army consisted of 300,000 men, and, after a siege of six weeks, it fell into the hands of the infidels, and the Turks have, to this day, retained possession of it. They no sooner found themselves masters of it, than they began to exercise on the inhabitants the most unremitting barbarities, destroying them by every method of ingenious cruelty. Some they roasted alive on spits, others they starved, some they flayed alive, and left them in that horrid manner to perish; many were sawn asunder, and others torn to pieces by horses. Three days and nights was the city given to spoil, in which time the soldiers were licensed to commit every enormity. The body of the emperor being found among the slain, Mahomet commanded his head to be stuck on a spear, and carried round the town for the mockery of the soldiers.

ATTACK ON RHODES.

About the year 1521, Solyman the First took Belgrade from the Christians. Two years after, he, with a fleet of 450 ships, and an army of 300,000 men, attacked Rhodes, then defended by the knights of Jerusalem. These heroes resisted the infidels till all their fortifications were levelled with the ground, their provisions exhausted, and their ammunition spent; when, finding no succours from the Christian princes, they surrendered, the siege having lasted about six months, in which the Turks suffered prodigiously, no less than 30,000 of them having died by the bloody flux. After this, Solyman retook Buda from the Christians, and treated those who were found there with great cruelty. Some had their eyes put out, others their hands, noses, and ears cut off. Pregnant women were ripped open, and their fruit cast into the flames, while many children were buried up to their necks in the earth, and left to perish.

PERSECUTIONS IN THE STATES OF BARBARY.

In no part of the globe are Christians so hated, or treated with such severity, as at Algiers. The conduct of the Algerines towards them is marked with perfidy and cruelty. By paying a most exorbitant fine, some Christians are allowed the title of Free Christians; these are permitted to dress in the fashion of their respective countries, but the Christian slaves are obliged to wear a coarse grey suit, and a seaman's cap.

The following are the various punishments exercised towards them: 1. If they join any of the natives in open

rebellion, they are strangled with a bow-string, or hanged on an iron hook. 2. If they speak against Mahomet, they must become Mahometans, or be impaled alive. 3. If they profess Christianity again, after having changed to the Mahometan persuasion, they are roasted alive, or thrown from the city walls, and caught upon large sharp hooks, on which they hang till they expire. 4. If they kill a Turk they are burnt. 5. If they attempt to escape, and are retaken, they suffer death in the following manner: they are hung naked on a high gallows by two hooks, the one fastened quite through the palm of one hand, and the other through the sole of the opposite foot, where they are left till death relieves them. Other punishments for crimes committed by the Christians are left to the discretion of the judges, who usually decree the most barbarous tortures.

At Tunis, if a Christian is caught in attempting to escape, his limbs are all broken; and if he slay his master, he is fastened to the tail of a horse, and dragged about the streets till he expires.

Fez and Morocco conjointly form an empire, and are the most considerable of the Barbary states. The Christian slaves are treated with the greatest rigour: the rich have exorbitant ransoms fixed upon them; the poor are hard worked and half starved, and sometimes, by the emperor, or their brutal masters, they are murdered.

SECTION II.

PERSECUTIONS IN CALABRIA.

About the fourteenth century, a great many Waldenses of Pragela and Dauphiny emigrated to Calabria, where, having received permission to settle in some waste lands, they soon, by the most industrious cultivation, converted those wild and barren spots into regions of beauty and fertility.

The nobles of Calabria were highly pleased with their new subjects and tenants, finding them honest, quiet, and industrious; but the priests, filled with jealousy, soon exhibited complaints against them, charging them with not being Roman Catholics, not making any of their boys priests, not making any of their girls nuns, not going to mass, not giving wax tapers to their priests, as offerings, not going on pilgrimages, and not bowing to images.

To these the Calabrian lords replied, that these people were extremely harmless, giving no offence to the Roman Catholics, but cheerfully paying the tithes to the priests, whose revenues were considerably increased by their coming into the country, and who, consequently, ought to be the last persons to make a complaint.

Those enemies to truth being thus silenced, things went on in peace for a few years, during which the Waldenses formed themselves into two corporate towns, annexing several villages to their jurisdiction. At length they sent to Geneva for two clergymen, one to preach in each town. This being known, intelligence was conveyed to pope Pius the Fourth, who determined to exterminate them from Calabria without further delay. To this end cardinal Alexandrino, a man of a violent tem-

per, and a furious bigot, was sent, together with two monks, to Calabria, where they were to act as inquisitors. These authorized persons came to St. Xist, one of the towns built by the Waldenses, where, having assembled the people, they told them, that they should receive no injury if they would accept of preachers appointed by the pope; but if they refused, they should be deprived both of their properties and lives; and that to prove them, mass should be publicly said that afternoon, at which they must attend.

But the people of St. Xist, instead of obeying this, fled with their families into the woods, and thus disappointed the cardinal and his coadjutors. Then they proceeded to La Garde, the other town belonging to the Waldenses, where, to avoid the like disappointment, they ordered the gates to be locked, and all avenues guarded. The same proposals were then made to the inhabitants as had been made to those of St. Xist, but with this artifice: the cardinal assured them that the inhabitants of St. Xist had immediately come into his proposals, and agreed that the pope should appoint them preachers. This falsehood succeeded; for the people of La Garde, thinking what the cardinal had told them to be truth, said, they would exactly follow the example of their brethren of St. Xist.

Having thus gained his point by a lie, he sent for two troops of soldiers with a view to massacre the people of St. Xist. He accordingly commanded them into the woods, to hunt them down like wild beasts, and gave them strict orders to spare neither age nor sex, but to kill all they came near. The troops accordingly entered the woods, and many fell a prey to their ferocity, before the Waldenses were apprised of their design. At length, however, they determined to sell their lives as dear as

possible, when several conflicts happened, in which the half-armed Waldenses performed prodigies of valour, and many were slain on both sides. At length, the greater part of the troops being killed in the different rencounters, the remainder were compelled to retreat; which so enraged the cardinal, that he wrote to the viceroy of Naples for reinforcements.

The viceroy, in obedience to this, proclaimed throughout the Neapolitan territories, that all outlaws, deserters, and other proscribed persons, should be freely pardoned for their several offences, on condition of making a campaign against the inhabitants of St. Xist, and of continuing under arms till those people were destroyed. On this several persons of desperate fortune came in, and being formed into light companies, were sent to scour the woods, and put to death all they could meet with of the reformed religion. The viceroy himself also joined the cardinal, at the head of a body of regular forces; and, in conjunction, they strove to accomplish their bloody purpose. Some they caught, and, suspending them upon trees, cut down boughs and burnt them, or ripped them open and left their bodies to be devoured by wild beasts or birds of prey. Many they shot at a distance; but the greatest number they hunted down by way of *sport*. A few escaped into caves; but famine destroyed them in their retreat: and the inhuman chase was continued till all these poor people perished.

The inhabitants of St. Xist being exterminated, those of La Garde engaged the attention of the cardinal and viceroy. The fullest protection was offered to themselves, their families, and their children, if they would embrace the Roman Catholic persuasion; but, on the contrary, if they refused this *mercy*, as it was insolently

termed, the most cruel deaths would be the certain consequence. In spite of the promises on one side, and menaces on the other, the Waldenses unanimously refused to renounce their religion, or embrace the errors of popery. The cardinal and viceroy were so enraged at this, that they ordered thirty of them to be put immediately to the rack, as a terror to the others. Several of these died under the torture: one Charlin, in particular, was so cruelly used, that his belly burst, his bowels came out, and he expired in the greatest agonies. These barbarities, however, did not answer the end for which they were intended; for those who survived the torments of the rack, and those who had not felt it, remained equally constant in their faith, and boldly declared, that nothing, either of pain or fear, should ever induce them to renounce their God, or bow down to idols. The inhuman cardinal then ordered several of them to be stripped naked, and whipped to death with iron rods: some were hacked to pieces with large knives; others were thrown from the top of a high tower; and many were cased over with pitch and burnt alive.

One of the monks who attended the cardinal, discovered a most inhuman and diabolical nature. He requested that he might shed some of the blood of these poor people with his own hands; his request being granted, the monster took a large sharp knife, and cut the throats of fourscore men, women, and children. Their bodies were then quartered, their quarters placed upon stakes, and fixed in different parts of the country.

The four principal men of La Garde were hanged, and the clergyman was thrown from the top of his church steeple. He was dreadfully crushed, but not quite killed by the fall. The viceroy being present, said, "Is the

dog yet living? Take him up, and cast him to the hogs:" which brutal sentence was actually put in execution.

The monsters, in their hellish thirst of cruelty, racked sixty of the women with such severity, that the cords pierced their limbs quite to the bone. They were after this remanded to prison, where their wounds mortified, and they died in the most miserable manner. Many others were put to death by various other means; and so jealous and arbitrary were those monsters, that if any Roman Catholic, more compassionate than the rest, interceded for any of the reformed, he was immediately apprehended, and sacrificed as a favourer of heretics.

The viceroy being obliged to return to Naples, and the cardinal having been recalled to Rome, the marquis of Butiane was commissioned to complete what they had begun; which he at length effected by acting with such barbarous rigour, that there was not a single person of the reformed religion left in all Calabria. Thus were a great number of inoffensive and harmless people deprived of their possessions, robbed of their property, driven from their homes, and, at length, murdered, only because they would not sacrifice their consciences to the superstitions of others, embrace the doctrines which they abhorred, and attend to teachers whom they could not believe.

SECTION III.

PERSECUTIONS IN THE VALLEYS OF PIEDMONT.

The Waldenses, in consequence of the continued persecutions they met with in France, fled for refuge to

various parts of the world; among other places, many of them sought an asylum in the valleys of Piedmont, where they increased and flourished exceedingly for a considerable time.

Notwithstanding their harmless behaviour, inoffensive conversation, and their paying tithes to the Romish clergy, the latter could not be contented, but sought to give them disturbance, and accordingly complained to the archbishop of Turin, that the Waldenses were heretics; upon which, he ordered a persecution to be commenced, in consequence of which many fell martyrs to the superstitious rage of the monks and priests.

At Turin, one of the reformed had his bowels torn out and put into a basin before his face, where they remained, in his view, till he expired. At Revel, Catelin Girard being at the stake, desired the executioner to give him up a stone, which he refused, thinking that he meant to throw it at somebody; but Girard assuring him that he had no such design, the executioner complied; when Girard, looking earnestly at the stone, said, "When it is in the power of a man to eat and digest this stone, the religion for which I am about to suffer, shall have an end, and not before." He then threw the stone on the ground, and submitted cheerfully to the flames. A great many more were oppressed or put to death, till, wearied with their sufferings, the Waldenses flew to arms in their defence, and formed themselves into regular bodies. Full of revenge at this, the archbishop of Turin sent troops against them: but in most of the skirmishes the Waldenses were victorious; for they knew, if they were taken, they should not be considered as prisoners of war, but be tortured to death as heretics.

NOBLE CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF SAVOY.

Philip the Seventh, who was at this time duke of Savoy, and supreme lord of Piedmont, determined to interpose his authority, and stop these bloody wars, which so disturbed his dominions. Nevertheless, unwilling to offend the pope or the archbishop of Turin, he sent them both messages, importing, that he could not any longer tamely see his dominions overrun with troops, who were commanded by prelates in the place of generals; nor would he suffer his country to be depopulated, while he himself had not been even consulted upon the occasion.

The priests, perceiving the determination of the duke, had recourse to their usual artifice, and endeavoured to prejudice his mind against the Waldenses: but he told them, that although he was unacquainted with the religious tenets of these people, yet he had always found them quiet, faithful, and obedient, and was therefore determined they should be persecuted no longer. The priests then invented the most palpable and absurd falsehoods: they assured the duke that he was mistaken in the Waldenses, for they were a wicked set of people, and highly addicted to intemperance, uncleanness, blasphemy, adultery, incest, and many other abominable crimes; and that they were even monsters in nature, for their children were born with black throats, with four rows of teeth, and bodies covered with hair. But the duke was not so to be imposed upon, notwithstanding the solemn affirmations of the priests. In order to come at the truth, he sent twelve gentlemen into the Piedmontese valleys, to examine into the real character of the people.

These gentlemen, after travelling through all their towns and villages, and conversing with the Waldenses

of every rank, returned to the duke, and gave him the most favourable account of them, affirming, in contradiction to the priests, that they were harmless, inoffensive, loyal, friendly, industrious, and pious; that they abhorred the crimes of which they were accused; and that, should an individual, through his depravity, fall into any of those crimes, he would, by their laws, be punished in the most exemplary manner. With respect to the children, of whom the priests had told the most gross and ridiculous falsehoods, they were neither born with black throats, teeth in their mouths, nor hair on their bodies, but were as fine children as could be seen. "And to convince your highness of what we have said," continued one of the gentlemen, "we have brought twelve of the principal male inhabitants, who are come to ask pardon in the name of the rest, for having taken up arms without your leave, though even in their own defence, and to preserve their lives from their merciless enemies. We have likewise brought several women, with children, of various ages, that your highness may have an opportunity of judging for yourself." His highness then accepted the apology of the twelve delegates, conversed with the women, examined the children, and afterwards graciously dismissed them. He then commanded the priests, who had attempted to mislead him, immediately to leave the court; and gave strict orders, that the persecution should cease throughout his dominions.

During the remainder of the reign of this virtuous prince, the Waldenses enjoyed repose in their retreats; but, on his death, this happy scene changed, for his successor was a bigoted papist. About the same time, some of the principal Waldenses proposed, that their clergy should preach in public, that every one might know the

purity of their doctrines; for hitherto they had preached only in private, and to such congregations as they well knew to consist of none but persons of the reformed religion.

When this reached the ears of the new duke, he was greatly exasperated, and sent a considerable body of troops into the valleys, swearing that if the people would not conform to the Romish faith, he would have them flayed alive. The commander of the troops soon found the impracticability of conquering them with the number of men then under him: he, therefore, sent word to the duke, that the idea of subjugating the Waldenses with so small a force was ridiculous; that they were better acquainted with the country than any that were with him; that they had secured all the passes, were well armed, and determined to defend themselves. Alarmed at this, the duke commanded the troops to return, determining to act by stratagem. He, therefore, ordered rewards for taking any of the Waldenses who might be found straying from their places of security; and these, when taken, were either flayed alive or burnt.

Pope Paul the Third, a furious bigot, ascending the pontifical chair, immediately solicited the parliament of Turin to persecute the Waldenses, as the most pernicious of all heretics. To this the parliament readily assented, when several were suddenly seized and burnt by their order. Among these was Bartholomew Hector, a bookseller of Turin. He had been brought up a Roman Catholic, but some treatises written by the reformed clergy having fallen into his hands, he was fully convinced of their truth, and of the errors of the church of Rome; yet his mind was, for some time, wavering between fear and duty, when, after serious consideration,

he fully embraced the reformed religion, was apprehended, and burnt.

A consultation was again held by the parliament of Turin, in which it was agreed, that deputies should be sent to the valleys of Piedmont with the following propositions: 1. That if the Waldenses would return to the bosom of the church of Rome, they should enjoy their houses, properties, and lands, and live with their families, without the least molestation. 2. That to prove their obedience, they should send twelve of their principal persons, with all their ministers and schoolmasters, to Turin, to be dealt with at discretion. 3. That the pope, the king of France, and the duke of Savoy, approved of, and authorized the proceedings of the parliament of Turin, upon this occasion. 4. That if the Waldenses of Piedmont rejected these propositions, persecution and death should be their reward.

In answer to these hostile articles, the Waldenses made the following noble replies: 1. That no consideration whatever, should make them renounce their religion. 2. That they would never consent to intrust their best friends to the custody and discretion of their worst enemies. 3. That they valued the approbation of the King of kings, who reigns in Heaven, more than any temporal authority. 4. That their souls were more precious than their bodies.

As may be conjectured, these spirited and pointed answers greatly exasperated the parliament of Turin: in consequence of which, they continued, with more avidity than ever, to seize such Waldenses as unfortunately had strayed from their hiding places, and put them to the most cruel deaths.

They soon after solicited from the king of France, a considerable body of troops, in order to exterminate the

reformed from Piedmont; but just as the troops were about to march, the Protestant princes of Germany interposed; and threatened to send troops to assist the Waldenses. On this, the king of France, not wishing to enter into a war, remanded the troops. This greatly disappointed the sanguinary members of the parliament, and for want of power the persecution gradually ceased, and they could only put to death such as they caught by chance; which, owing to the caution of the Waldenses, were very few.

After a few years' tranquillity, they were again disturbed in the following manner: the pope's nuncio, coming to Turin, told the duke he was astonished that he had not yet either rooted out the Waldenses from Piedmont entirely, or compelled them to return to the church of Rome. That such conduct in him awakened suspicion, and that he really thought him a favourer of those heretics, and should accordingly report the affair to the pope. Roused by this reflection, and fearful of being misrepresented to the pope, the duke determined to banish those suspicions; and, to prove his zeal, resolved to persecute the unoffending Waldenses. He, accordingly, issued express orders for all to attend mass regularly, on pain of death. This they absolutely refused to do, on which he entered Piedmont with a great body of troops, and began a most furious persecution, in which great numbers were hanged, drowned, ripped open, tied to trees, pierced with prongs, thrown from precipices, burnt, stabbed, racked to death, worried by dogs, and crucified with their heads downwards. Those who fled had their goods plundered and their houses burnt. When they caught a minister or a schoolmaster, they put them to such exquisite tortures, as are scarcely credible. If any whom they took seemed wavering in

their faith, they did not put them to death, but sent them to the galleys, to be made converts by dint of hardships.

In this expedition the duke was accompanied by three men who resembled devils, viz. 1. Thomas Incomel, an apostate, brought up in the reformed religion, but who had renounced his faith, embraced the errors of popery, and turned monk. He was a great libertine, given to unnatural crimes, and most particularly solicitous for the plunder of the Waldenses. 2. Corbis, a man of a very ferocious and cruel nature, whose business was to examine the prisoners. 3. The provost of justice, an avaricious wretch, anxious for the execution of the Waldenses, as every execution added to his hoards.

These three monsters were unmerciful to the last degree; wherever they came, the blood of the innocent was shed. But, besides the cruelties exercised by the duke with these three persons and the army in their different marches, many local barbarities took place. At Pignerol was a monastery, the monks of which finding they might injure the reformed with impunity, began to plunder their houses, and pull down their churches; and not meeting with opposition, they next seized upon the persons of those unhappy people, murdering the men, confining the women, and putting the children to Roman Catholic nurses.

In the same manner the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the valley of St. Martin did all they could to torment the neighbouring Waldenses; they destroyed their churches, burnt their houses, seized their property, carried away their cattle, converted their lands to their own use, committed their ministers to the flames, and drove the people to the woods, where they had nothing to subsist on but wild fruits, the bark of trees, roots, &c.

Some Roman Catholic ruffians having seized a minister, as he was going to preach, determined to take him to a convenient place, and burn him. His parishioners hearing of this, armed themselves, pursued and attacked the villains; who, finding they could not execute their first intent, stabbed the poor gentleman, and, leaving him weltering in his blood, made a precipitate retreat. His parishioners did all they could to recover him, but in vain; for he expired as they were carrying him home.

The monks of Pignerol having a great desire to get into their possession a minister of the town of St. Germain, hired a band of ruffians for the purpose of seizing him. These fellows were conducted by a treacherous servant to the clergyman, who knew a secret way to the house, by which he could lead them without alarming the neighbourhood. The guide knocked at the door, and being asked who was there, answered in his own name. The clergyman, expecting no injury from a person on whom he had heaped favours, immediately opened the door; perceiving the ruffians, he fled, but they rushed in, and seized him. They then murdered all his family; after which they proceeded with their captive towards Pignerol, goading him all the way. He was confined a considerable time in prison, and then burnt.

The murderers continuing their assaults about the town of St. Germain, murdering and plundering many of the inhabitants, the reformed of Lucerne and Angrogne, sent some armed men to the assistance of their brethren. These men frequently attacked and routed the ruffians, which so alarmed the monks, that they left their monastery of Pignerol, till they could procure regular troops for their protection.

The duke of Savoy, not finding himself so successful

as he at first imagined he should be, augmented his forces, joined to them the ruffians, and commanded that a general delivery should take place in the prisons, provided the persons released would bear arms, and assist in the extermination of the Waldenses.

No sooner were the Waldenses informed of these proceedings than they secured as much of their property as they could, and quitting the valleys, retired to the rocks and caves among the Alps.

The army no sooner reached their destination than they began to plunder and burn the towns and villages; but they could not force the passes of the Alps, gallantly defended by the Waldenses, who in those attempts always repulsed their enemies; but if any fell into the hands of the troops, they were treated in the most barbarous manner. A soldier having caught one of them, bit his right ear off, saying, "I will carry this member of that wicked heretic with me into my own country, and preserve it as a rarity." He then stabbed the man; and threw him into a ditch.

At one time, a party of troops found a venerable man upwards of a hundred years of age, accompanied by his grand-daughter, a maiden, of about eighteen, in a cave. They murdered the poor old man in a most inhuman manner, and then attempted to ravish the girl, when she started away, and being pursued, threw herself from a precipice and was dashed to pieces.

Determined, if possible, to expel their invaders, the Waldenses entered into a league with the Protestant powers in Germany, and with the reformed of Dauphiny and Pragela. These were respectively to furnish bodies of troops; and the Waldenses resolved, when thus reinforced, to quit the mountains of the Alps, where they soon must have perished, as the winter was coming on,

and to force the duke's army to evacuate their native valleys.

But the duke of Savoy himself was tired of the war, it having cost him great fatigue and anxiety of mind, a vast number of men, and very considerable sums of money. It had been much more tedious and bloody than he expected, as well as more expensive than he at first imagined, for he thought the plunder would have discharged the expenses of the expedition: in this, however, he was mistaken; for the pope's nuncio, the bishops, monks, and other ecclesiastics, who attended the army and encouraged the war, sunk the greatest part of the wealth that was taken, under various pretences. For these reasons, and the death of his duchess, of which he had just received intelligence, and fearing that the Waldenses, by the treaties they had entered into, would become too powerful for him, he determined to return to Turin with his army, and to make peace with them.

This resolution he put in practice, greatly against the wish of the ecclesiastics, who by the war gratified both their avarice and their revenge. Before the articles of peace could be ratified, the duke himself died; but on his death-bed he strictly enjoined his son to perform what he had intended, and to be as favourable as possible to the Waldenses.

Charles-Emanuel, the duke's son, succeeded to the dominions of Savoy, and fully ratified the peace with the Waldenses, according to the last injunctions of his father, though the priests used all their arts to dissuade him from his purpose.

SECTION IV.

PERSECUTIONS IN VENICE.

Before the terrors of the inquisition were known at Venice, a great number of Protestants fixed their residence there, and many converts were made by the purity of their doctrines, and the inoffensiveness of their conversation.

The pope no sooner learned the great increase of protestantism, than he, in the year 1542, sent inquisitors to Venice, to apprehend such as they might deem obnoxious. Hence a severe persecution began, and many persons were martyred for serving God with sincerity, and scorning the trappings of superstition.

Various were the modes by which the Protestants were deprived of life; but one in particular, being both new and singular, we shall describe: as soon as sentence was passed, the prisoner had an iron chain, to which was suspended a great stone, fastened to his body; he was then laid flat upon a plank, with his face upwards, and rowed between two boats to a certain distance at sea, when the boats separated, and, by the weight of the stone, he was sunk to the bottom.

If any dared to deny the jurisdiction of the inquisitors at Venice, they were conveyed to Rome, where being committed to damp and nauseous dungeons, their flesh mortified, and a most miserable death ensued.

A citizen of Venice, named Anthony Ricetti, being apprehended as a Protestant, was sentenced to be drowned in the manner above described. A few days previous to his execution, his son went to him, and entreated him to recant, that his life might be saved, and himself not left an orphan. To this the father replied, "A good

Christian is bound to relinquish not only goods and children, but life itself for the glory of his Redeemer." The nobles of Venice likewise sent him word, that if he would embrace the Roman Catholic religion, they would not only grant him life, but redeem a considerable estate which he had mortgaged; and freely present him with it. This, however, he absolutely refused to comply with, saying that he valued his soul beyond all other considerations. Finding all endeavours to persuade him ineffectual, they ordered the execution of his sentence, which took place accordingly, and he died recommending his soul fervently to his Redeemer.

Francis Sega, another Venetian, steadfastly persisting in his faith, was executed, a few days after Ricetti, in the same manner.

Francis Spinola, a Protestant gentleman of very great learning, was apprehended by order of the inquisitors and carried before their tribunal. A treatise on the Lord's Supper was then put into his hands, and he was asked if he knew the author of it. To which he replied, "I confess myself its author; and solemnly affirm, that there is not a line in it but what is authorized by, and consonant to, the Holy Scriptures." On this confession he was committed close prisoner to a dungeon. After remaining there several days, he was brought to a second examination, when he charged the pope's legate, and the inquisitors, with being merciless barbarians, and represented the superstition and idolatry of the church of Rome in so strong a light, that, unable to refute his arguments, they recommitted him to his dungeon. Being brought up a third time, they asked him if he would recant his errors, to which he answered, that the doctrines he maintained were not erroneous, being purely the same as those which Christ and his apostles had

taught, and which were handed down to us in the sacred scriptures. The inquisitors then sentenced him to be drowned, which was executed in the manner already described. He went to death with joy, thinking it a happiness to be so soon ushered to the world of glory, to dwell with God and the spirits of just men made perfect.

SECTION V.

MARTYRDOMS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF ITALY.

John Mollius was born at Rome of a respectable family. At twelve years old his parents placed him in a monastery of grey friars, where he made so rapid a progress in his studies, that he was admitted to priest's orders at the early age of eighteen years. He was then sent to Ferrara, where, after six years' further study, he was appointed theological reader in the university of that city. Here he began to exert his great talents to disguise the gospel truths, and to varnish over the errors of the church of Rome. Having passed some years here, he removed to the university of Bononia, where he became a professor. At length, happily reading some treatises written by ministers of the reformed religion, he was suddenly struck with the errors of popery, and became in his heart a zealous Protestant. He now determined to expound, in truth and simplicity, St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, in a regular course of sermons; at each of which he was attended by a vast concourse of people. But when the priests learned his doctrines, they despatched an account thereof to Rome; upon which the

pope sent Cornelius, a monk, to Bononia, to expound the same epistle, according to his own tenets, and to controvert the doctrine of Mollius. The people, however, found such a disparity between the two preachers, that the audience of Mollius increased, while Cornelius preached to empty benches. The latter on this wrote of his bad success to the pope, who immediately ordered Mollius to be apprehended. He was seized accordingly, and kept in close confinement. The bishop of Bononia sent him word that he must recant or be burnt; but he appealed to Rome, and was in consequence removed thither. Here he begged to have a public trial; but this the pope absolutely denied him, and commanded him to explain his opinions in writing, which accordingly he did on scripture authority. The pope, for reasons of policy, spared him for the present; but, in 1553, had him hanged, and his body afterwards burnt to ashes.

Francis Gamba, a Lombard and a Protestant, was apprehended, and condemned to death by the senate of Milan, in the year 1554. At the place of execution, he was presented by a monk with a cross. "My mind," said Gamba, "is so full of the real merits and goodness of Christ, that I want not a piece of senseless stick to put me in mind of him." For this expression his tongue was bored through, after which he was committed to the flames.

About the same period Algerius, a learned and accomplished student in the university of Padua, embraced the reformed religion, and was zealous in the conversion of others. For these proceedings he was accused of heresy to the pope, and being apprehended, was committed to the prison at Venice, whence he wrote to his converts at Padua the following celebrated and beautiful epistle.

"DEAR FRIENDS,

"I cannot omit this opportunity of letting you know the sincere pleasure I feel in my confinement: to suffer for Christ is delectable indeed; to undergo a little transitory pain in this world, for his sake, is cheaply purchasing a reversion of eternal glory, in a life that is everlasting. Hence I have found honey in the entrails of a lion; a paradise in a prison; tranquillity in the house of sorrow: where others weep, I rejoice; where others tremble and faint, I find strength and courage. The Almighty alone confers these favours on me; be his the glory and the praise.

"How different do I find myself from what I was before I embraced the truth in its purity! I was then dark, doubtful, and in dread; I am now enlightened, certain, and full of joy. He that was far from me is present with me; he comforts my spirit, heals my grief, strengthens my mind, refreshes my heart, and fortifies my soul. Learn, therefore, how merciful and amiable the Lord is, who supports his servants under temptations, expels their sorrows, lightens their afflictions, and even visits them with his glorious presence in the gloom of a dismal dungeon.

"Your sincere friend,

"ALGERIUS."

The pope being informed of Algerius' great learning and abilities, sent for him to Rome, and tried, by every means, to win him to his purpose. But finding his endeavours hopeless, he ordered him to be burnt.

In 1559, John Alloisius, a Protestant teacher, having come from Geneva to preach in Calabria, was there apprehended, carried to Rome, and burnt, by order of the

pope; and at Messina, James Bovellus was burnt for the same offence.

In the year 1560, pope Pius the Fourth commenced a general persecution of the Protestants throughout the Italian states, when great numbers of every age, sex, and condition, suffered martyrdom. Concerning the cruelties practised upon this occasion, a learned and humane Roman Catholic thus speaks in a letter to a nobleman:

“I cannot, my lord, forbear disclosing my sentiments with respect to the persecution now carrying on. I think it cruel and unnecessary; I tremble at the manner of putting to death, as it resembles more the slaughter of calves and sheep, than the execution of human beings. I will relate to your lordship a dreadful scene, of which I was myself an eye-witness: seventy Protestants were cooped up in one filthy dungeon together; the executioner went in among them, picked out one from among the rest, blindfolded him, led him out to an open place before the prison, and cut his throat with the greatest composure. He then calmly walked into the prison again, bloody as he was, and with the knife in his hand selected another, and despatched him in the same manner; and this, my lord, he repeated till the whole number were put to death. I leave it to your lordship’s feelings to judge of my sensations upon the occasion; my tears now wash the paper upon which I give you the recital. Another thing I must mention, the patience with which they met death: they seemed all resignation and piety, fervently praying to God, and cheerfully encountering their fate. I cannot reflect without shuddering, how the executioner held the bloody knife between his teeth; what a dreadful figure he appeared, all covered with blood, and with what unconcern he executed his barbarous office!”

SECTION VI.

PERSECUTIONS IN PIEDMONT, IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Pope Clement the Eighth sent missionaries into the valleys of Piedmont, with a view to induce the Protestants to renounce their religion. These missionaries erected monasteries in several parts of the valleys, and soon became very troublesome to the reformed, to whom the monasteries appeared not only as fortresses to curb, but as sanctuaries for all such to fly to as had injured them in any degree.

The insolence and tyranny of these missionaries increasing, the Protestants petitioned the duke of Savoy for protection. But instead of granting any redress, the duke published a decree, in which he declared that one witness should be sufficient in a court of law against a Protestant; and that any witness who convicted a Protestant of any crime whatever, should be entitled to a hundred crowns as a reward.

The duke, in order to give force to the persecution, called a general assembly of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry, whence issued a solemn edict against the reformed, containing many heads, and including several reasons for extirpating them, among which the following were the principal: the preservation of the papal authority; that the church livings might be all under one mode of government; to make a union among all parties; in honour of all the saints, and of the ceremonies of the church of Rome.

This was followed by a most cruel order, published on January 25, 1655, which decreed that every family of the reformed religion, of whatever rank, residing

in Lucerne, St. Giovanni, Bibiana, Campiglione, St. Secondo, Lucernetta, La Torre, Fenile, or Britherassio, should, within three days after the publication thereof, depart from their habitations to such places as were appointed by the duke, on pain of death and confiscation.

This order produced the greatest distress among the unhappy objects of it, as it was enforced with the greatest severity in the depth of a very severe winter, and the people were driven from their habitations at the time appointed, without even sufficient clothes to cover them; by which many perished in the mountains through the severity of the weather, or for want of food. Those who remained behind after the publication of the decree, were murdered by the popish inhabitants, or shot by the troops, and the most horrible barbarities were perpetrated by these ruffians, encouraged by the Roman Catholic priests and monks, of which the following may serve as a specimen.

Martha Constantine, a beautiful young woman, was first ravished, and then killed, by cutting off her breasts. These some of the soldiers fried, and set before their comrades, who eat them without knowing what they were. When they had done eating, the others told them what they had made a meal of, in consequence of which a quarrel ensued, and a battle took place. Several were killed in the fray, the greater part of whom were those concerned in the horrid massacre of the woman, and the inhuman deception on their comrades.

Peter Simonds, a Protestant, of about eighty years of age, was tied neck and heels, and then thrown down a precipice. In his fall the branch of a tree caught hold of the ropes that fastened him, and suspended him in the mid-way, so that he languished for several days, till he perished of hunger.

Esay Garcino, refusing to renounce his religion, the soldiers cut him into small pieces, saying, in ridicule, they had minced him. A woman, named Armand, was torn limb from limb, and then the respective parts were hung upon a hedge.

Several men, women, and children, were flung from the rocks, and dashed to pieces. Among others, Magdalen Bertino, a Protestant woman of La Torre, was stripped naked, her head tied between her legs, and she was then thrown down a precipice. Mary Raymondet, of the same town, had her flesh sliced from her bones till she expired; Magdalen Pilot, of Villaro, was cut to pieces in the cave of Castolus: Ann Charboniere had one end of a stake thrust up her body, and the other end being fixed in the ground, she was left in that manner to perish; and Jacob Perrin the elder, of the church of Villaro, with David, his brother, was flayed alive.

Giovanni Andrea Michialin, an inhabitant of La Torre, with four of his children, was apprehended; three of them were hacked to pieces before him, the soldiers asking him, at the death of every child, if he would recant, which he constantly refused. One of the soldiers then took up the last and youngest by the legs, and putting the same question to the father, he replied as before, when the inhuman brute dashed out the child's brains. The father, however, at the same moment started from them, and fled: the soldiers fired after him, but missed him; and he escaped to the Alps, and there remained concealed.

Giovanni Pelanchion, on refusing to abjure his faith, was tied by one leg to the tail of a mule, and dragged through the streets of Lucerne, amidst the acclamations of an inhuman mob, who kept stoning him, and crying out, "He is possessed of the devil." They then took

him to the river side, chopped off his head, and left that and his body unburied, upon the bank of the river.

A beautiful child, ten years of age, named Magdalene Fontaine, was ravished and murdered by the soldiers. Another girl, of about the same age, they roasted alive at Villa Nova; and a poor woman, hearing the soldiers were coming towards her house, snatched up the cradle in which her infant son was asleep, and fled towards the woods. The soldiers, however, saw and pursued her, when she lightened herself by putting down the cradle and child, which the soldiers no sooner came to, than they murdered the infant, and continuing the pursuit, found the mother in a cave, where they first ravished, and then cut her to atoms.

Jacobo Michelino, chief elder of the church of Bobbio, and several other Protestants, were hung up by hooks fixed in their flesh, and left so to expire. Giovanni Rostagnal, a venerable Protestant, upwards of fourscore years of age, had his nose and ears cut off, and the flesh cut from his body, till he bled to death.

Daniel Saleago and his wife, Giovanni Durant, Lodwich Durant, Bartholomew Durant, Daniel Revel, and Paul Reynaud, had their mouths stuffed with gunpowder, which being set fire to, their heads were blown to pieces.

Jacob Birone, a schoolmaster of Rorata, was stripped naked; and after having been so exposed, had the nails of his toes and fingers torn off with red-hot pincers, and holes bored through his hands with the point of a dagger. He next had a cord tied round his middle, and was led through the streets with a soldier on each side of him. At every turning the soldier on his right hand side cut a gash in his flesh, and the soldier on his left hand side struck him with a bludgeon, both saying, at

the same instant, "Will you go to mass? Will you go to mass?" He still replied in the negative, and being at length taken to the bridge, they cut off his head on the ballustrades, and threw both that and his body into the river.

Paul Garnier, a protestant beloved for his piety, had his eyes put out, was then flayed alive, and being divided into four parts, his quarters were placed on four of the principal houses of Lucerne. He bore all his sufferings with the most exemplary patience, praised God as long as he could speak, and plainly evinced the courage arising from a confidence in God.

Daniel Rambaut, of Villaro, the father of a numerous family, was seized, and, with several others, committed to the gaol of Paysana. Here he was visited by several priests, who, with continual importunities, strove to persuade him to turn papist; but this he peremptorily refused, and the priests finding his resolution, and enraged at his answers, determined to put him to the most horrible tortures, in the hope of overcoming his faith: they therefore ordered one joint of his fingers to be cut off every day, till all his fingers were gone: they then proceeded in the same manner with his toes; afterwards they alternately cut off, daily, a hand and a foot; but finding that he bore his sufferings with the most unconquerable fortitude, and maintained his faith with steadfast resolution, they stabbed him to the heart, and then gave his body to be devoured by dogs.

Anthony, the son of Samuel Catieris, a poor dumb lad, and extremely inoffensive, was cut to pieces by a party of the troops: and soon after the same ruffians entered the house of Peter Moniriat, and cut off the legs of the whole family, leaving them to bleed to death,

they being unable to assist each other in that melancholy plight.

David Armand was forced to lay his head down on a block, when a soldier, with a large hammer, beat out his brains. David Baridona was apprehended at Villaro, and carried to La Torre, where refusing to renounce his religion, he was tormented by brimstone matches being tied between his fingers and toes, and set fire to, and afterwards, by having his flesh plucked off with red hot pincers, till he expired. Giovanni Barolina, with his wife, were thrown into a pool of stagnant water, and compelled, by means of pitch-forks and stones, to duck down their heads till they were suffocated with the stench.

A number of soldiers assaulted the house of Joseph Garniero, and before they entered, fired in at the window, and shot Mrs. Garniero, who was at that instant suckling her child. She begged them to spare the life of the infant, which they promised to do, and sent it immediately to a Roman Catholic nurse. They then seized the husband and hanged him at his own door, and having shot the wife through the head, left her body weltering in its blood.

To screen themselves from danger, a number of men, women, and children, fled to a large cave, where they continued for some weeks in safety, two of the men going by stealth to procure provisions. These were, however, one day watched, by which the cave was discovered, and, soon after, a troop of Roman Catholics appeared before it. Many of these were neighbours, and intimate acquaintances, and some even relations to those in the cave. The Protestants, therefore, came out, and implored them, by the ties of hospitality and of blood, not to murder them. But the bigoted wretches

told them, they could not show any mercy to heretics, and, therefore, bade them all prepare to die. Hearing this, and knowing the obduracy of their enemies, the Protestants fell on their knees, lifted their hearts to heaven, and patiently awaited their fate; which the papists soon decided, by cutting them to pieces.

SECTION VII

PERSECUTIONS OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

Louis XIII. being a minor at the death of his father, the kingdom was nominally governed by the queen-mother, but really by her minion, cardinal Richelieu a man of great abilities, which were unhappily perverted to the worst purposes. He was cruel, bigoted, tyrannical, rapacious, and sensual; he trampled on the civil and religious liberties of France; and hesitated not to accomplish his intentions by the most barbarous and infamous methods.

The Protestants at length, unable longer to endure the injuries daily heaped upon them, resolved to take arms in defence of their religion and their liberty. But the vigour of the cardinal defeated all their enterprises, and Rochelle, the last fortress which remained in their possession, was, in 1628, after a long siege, in which the defenders were reduced to the most horrible extremities of famine and suffering, surrendered to his victorious arms. He immediately caused the walls and fortifications to be destroyed; and those of the garrison who

survived, were either put to death by the infuriated soldiery, or condemned to the galleys for life.

After this unhappy event, although the power of the Protestants was too much broken to permit them to assert their rights in the field, and they therefore appeared to their enemies as if crushed and extinguished, there yet remained many thousands who "refused to bow the knee to Baal;" their God upheld them by his gracious promises; they knew that He, without whose orders "not even a sparrow shall perish," would not allow his faithful servants to fall unregarded; and they consoled themselves with the reflection, that however they might be despised, contemned, and persecuted on earth, they would in the end arrive at those heavenly mansions prepared for them by their Father, where "all tears shall be wiped from all faces;" and where an eternity of glories and celestial happiness shall infinitely outweigh the temporary and trivial sufferings of mortality.

During the fifty years which succeeded the reduction of Rochelle, the Protestants suffered every indignity, injustice, and cruelty, which their barbarous persecutors could devise. They were at the mercy of every petty despot, who, "drest in a little brief authority," wished to gratify his malice, or signalize the season of his power, by punishing the *heretics*, and evincing his attachment to the *infallible church*. The consequences of this may easily be imagined; every petty vexation which can render private life miserable, every species of plunder and extortion, and every wanton exertion of arbitrary power, were employed to harass and molest the Protestants of all ranks, sexes, and ages.

At length, in 1684, the impious and blasphemous tyrant Louis XIV., who, in imitation of the worst Roman

emperors, wished to receive divine honours, and was flattered by his abject courtiers into the belief that he was more than human, determined to establish his claim to the title of *le grand*, which their fulsome adulation had bestowed on him, by the extirpation of the *hereticks* from his dominions. Pretending, however, to wish for their conversion to the *true faith*, he gave them the alternative of voluntarily becoming papists, or *being compelled to it*.

On their refusal to apostatize, they were *dragooned*: that is, the dragoons, the most ruffianly and barbarous of his *Christian* majesty's troops, were quartered upon them, with orders to *live at discretion*. Their ideas of *discretion* may easily be conceived, and accordingly the unhappy Protestants were exposed to every species of suffering, which lust, avarice, cruelty, bigotry, and brutality, can engender in the breasts of an ignorant, depraved, and infuriated soldiery, absolved from all restraint, and left to the diabolical promptings of their worst passions, whose flames were fanned by the assurances of the bishops, priests, and friars, that they were fulfilling a sacred duty, by punishing the enemies of God and religion!

An order was issued by the king, for the demolition of the Protestant churches, and the banishment of the Protestant ministers. Many other reformers were also ordered to leave the kingdom in a few days; and we are told by Monsieur Claude, the celebrated author of "*Les Plaintes des Protestans*," who was himself banished at this time, that the most frivolous pretexts were employed to detain those who were about to quit France, so that by remaining in that country beyond the time allowed by the edict, they might be sent

to the galleys as a punishment for infringing an order which they were thus prevented from complying with.

On the whole, more than five hundred thousand persons escaped or were banished. And these industrious citizens, whom the blind bigotry of a besotted tyrant had driven from their native land, found shelter and protection, in England, Germany, and other countries, which they amply repaid by the introduction of many useful arts and processes; in particular, it is to them that we are indebted for the commencement of the silk manufacture in Great Britain.

In the meanwhile, those who either were purposely detained, or were unable to escape, were condemned to the galleys; and after being imprisoned in the most horrible dungeons, and fed only on bread and water, and that very scantily, were marched off, in large bodies, handcuffed, and chained together, from one extremity of the kingdom to another. Their sufferings during this dreadful journey were indescribable. They were exposed to every vicissitude of weather, almost without covering; and frequently, in the midst of winter, were obliged to pass the nights on the bare earth, fainting from hunger and thirst, agonized by disease, and writhing from the lash of their merciless conductors. The consequence was, that scarcely half the original number reached their place of destination; those who did, were immediately exposed to new sufferings and additional calamities.

They were put on board the galleys, where they were subjected to the absolute control of the most inhuman and barbarous wretches who ever disgraced the human form. The labour of rowing, as performed in the galleys, is described as being the most excessive that can be imagined; and the sufferings of the poor slaves were increased a hundred fold by the scourgings inflicted on

them by their savage taskmasters. The recital of their miseries is too horrible to be dwelt upon: we shall therefore pass to that period when the Lord, of his infinite mercy, gave ear to the cries of his afflicted servants, and graciously raised them up a deliverer in Anne, queen of England, who, filled with compassion for the unhappy fate of so many of her fellow-protestants, ordered her ambassador at the court of France to make a spirited remonstrance in their favour, which Louis, whose affairs were then in a very critical situation, was under the necessity of complying with; and he accordingly despatched orders to all the seaports for the immediate release of every galley slave condemned for his religion.

When this order was received at Marseilles, where the majority of the Protestants were detained, the priests, and most particularly the jesuits, were much chagrined at the prospect of thus losing their victims, and determined to use all means in their power to prevent the order from being carried into effect. They prevailed on the intendant, a violent and cruel bigot, to delay its execution for eight days, till they could receive an answer to an address which they immediately despatched to the king, exhorting him to abandon his intention of releasing the *heretics*, and representing the dreadful judgments which, they asserted, might be expected to fall on himself and his kingdom, as the punishment of so great a dereliction from his duty as the *eldest son of the church*. At least, they desired, if his majesty were determined to release the Protestants, that he would not allow them to remain in, or even pass through France; but would compel them to leave the ports by sea, and never again to enter his dominions, on pain of re-visiting the galleys.

Although Louis could not comply with the first part of the petition of these truly papistical bigots, the latter part was too congenial to his own inclinations, to be rejected. The Protestants were ordered to sail from the ports at which they had been confined; and the difficulty of obtaining vessels for their conveyance, which the malignant priests used all their arts to augment, occasioned a long delay, during which the poor prisoners were suffering all the agonies of uncertainty—that “hope deferred, which maketh the heart sick,”—and which led them to fear that something might still intervene to prevent their so much desired emancipation. But their heavenly Father, ever mindful of those who suffer for his sake, at length removed every obstacle which bigotry and malice could interpose, and delivered them from the hand of the oppressor. They went forth rejoicing, praising and blessing His holy name, who had wrought for them this great deliverance.

A deputation of those who had been released by the interposition of Queen Anne, waited upon her majesty in London, to return their most grateful thanks, on behalf of themselves and their brethren, for her Christian interference in their favour. She received them very graciously, and assured them that she derived more pleasure from the consciousness of having lessened the miseries of her fellow-protestants, than from the most brilliant events of her reign.

These exiles also established themselves in England, which by their industry and ingenuity acquired new riches every day, while France, by expelling them, received a blow, from which her commercial and trading interests never recovered. Thus, even on earth, did the Almighty punish the bigoted and cruel, and reward the pious and beneficent. But how fearful shall be the

judgment of the persecutors in that great day when every action shall be weighed in the balance of Eternal Justice! How awful the denunciation—"Depart from me, ye cursed! I know you not!" Will the plea of *religious zeal* be then allowed? Will not the true motives of their barbarity be exposed to Him "from whom no secret is hid?" Undoubtedly they will; and lamentably ignorant are they of the genuine spirit of Christianity, who imagine that cruelty and persecution form any part of it. Let them look to the conduct of its Divine Founder; to his meekness, his charity, his universal benevolence; let them consider these, and blush to call themselves his followers; and tremble at the doom which his justice will award to those who have perverted his maxims of mercy and of peace into denunciations of hostility and extirpation.

SECTION VIII.

MARTYRDOM OF JOHN CALAS, OF THOULOUSE.

By this interesting story, the truth of which is certified in historical records, we have ample proofs, if any were requisite, that the abominable spirit of persecution will always prevail wherever popery has an ascendancy. This shocking act took place in a polished age, and proves, that neither experience, nor improvement, can root out the inveterate prejudices of the Roman Catholics; or render them less cruel or inexorable to the Protestants.

John Calas was a merchant, of the city of Thoulouse, where he had settled, and lived in good repute; and had married an English woman of French extraction.

Calas and his wife were both Protestants, and had five sons, whom they educated in the same religion; but Lewis, one of the sons, became a Roman Catholic, having been converted by a maid-servant, who had lived in the family above thirty years. The father, however, did not express any resentment or ill-will upon the occasion, but kept the maid in the family, and settled an annuity upon the son. In October, 1761, the family consisted of John Calas and his wife, one woman servant, Mark Anthony Calas, the eldest son, and Peter Calas, the second son. Mark Anthony was bred to the law, but could not be admitted to practice, on account of his being a Protestant: hence he grew melancholy, read all the books which he could procure relative to suicide, and seemed determined to destroy himself. To this may be added, that he led a very dissipated life, and was greatly addicted to gaming. On this account his father frequently reprehended him, and sometimes in terms of severity, which considerably added to the gloom that oppressed him.

M. Gobe La Vaisse, a young gentleman about nineteen years of age, the son of a celebrated advocate of Thoulouse, having been some time at Bourdeaux, came back to Thoulouse to see his father, on the 13th of October, 1761; but finding that he was gone to his country-house, at some distance from the city, he went to several places, endeavouring to hire a horse to carry him thither. No horse, however, was to be obtained; and about five o'clock in the evening, he was met by John Calas the father, and the eldest son Mark Anthony, who was his friend. Calas, the father, invited him to supper, as he could not set out for his father's that night, and La Vaisse consented. All three, therefore, proceeded to Calas' house together, and when they came thither,

finding that Mrs. Calas was still in her own room, which she had not quitted that day, La Vaisse went up to see her. After the first compliments, he told her he was to sup with her, by her husband's invitation, at which she expressed her satisfaction, and a few minutes after left him, to give some orders to her maid. When that was done, she went to look for her son Anthony, whom she found sitting alone in the shop, very pensive: she gave him some money, and desired him to go and buy some Roquefort cheese, as he was a better judge of the quality of cheese than any other person in the family. She then returned to her guest La Vaisse, who very soon after went again to the livery-stable, to see if any horse was come in, that he might secure it for the next morning.

In a short time Anthony returned, having bought the cheese, and La Vaisse also coming back about the same time, the family and their guest sat down to supper, the whole company consisting of Calas and his wife, Anthony and Peter Calas the sons, and La Vaisse, no other person being in the house, except the maid-servant, who has been mentioned already. This was about seven o'clock: the supper was not long; but before it was over, Anthony left the table, and went into the kitchen, (which was on the same floor) as he was accustomed to do. The maid asked him if he was cold? He answered, "Quite the contrary, I burn:" and then left her. In the mean time his friend and family left the room they had supped in, and went into a bed-chamber: the father and La Vaisse sat down together on a sofa; the younger son Peter in an elbow chair; and the mother in another chair; and without making any inquiry after Anthony, continued in conversation together, till between nine and ten o'clock, when La Vaisse took his leave, and

Peter, who had fallen asleep, was awakened to attend him with a light.

There was on the ground floor of Calas' house a shop and a warehouse; the latter of which was divided from the shop by a pair of folding-doors. When Peter Calas and La Vaisse came down stairs into the shop, they were extremely shocked to see Anthony hanging in his shirt, from a bar which he had laid across the top of the two folding-doors, having half opened them for that purpose. On discovering this horrid spectacle, they shrieked out, which brought down Calas the father, the mother being seized with such a terror as kept her trembling in the passage above. The unhappy old man rushed forward, and taking the body in his arms, the bar, to which the rope was fastened, slipped off from the folding-door of the warehouse, and fell down. Having placed the body on the ground, he loosed and took off the cord in an agony of grief and anguish not to be expressed, weeping, trembling, and deploring his loss. The two young men, who had not had presence of mind to attempt taking down the body, were standing by, stupid with amazement and horror. In the mean time the mother, hearing the confused cries and complaints of her husband, and finding no one come to her, found means to get down stairs. At the bottom she saw La Vaisse, and hastily demanded what was the matter. This question roused Calas in a moment, and instead of answering her, he urged her to go again up stairs, to which, with much reluctance, she consented: but the conflict of her mind being such as could not be long borne, she sent down the maid to know what was the matter. When the maid discovered what had happened, she continued below, either because she feared to carry an account of it to her mistress, or because she busied herself in doing some

good office to her master, who was still embracing the body of his son, and bathing it in his tears. The mother, therefore, being thus left alone, went down, and mixed in the scene that has been already described, with such emotions as it must naturally produce. In the mean time Peter had been sent for La Moire, a surgeon in the neighbourhood. La Moire was not at home, but his apprentice, named Grosse, came instantly. Upon examination, he found the body quite dead; and upon taking off the neckcloth, which was of black taffeta, he saw the mark of the cord, and immediately pronounced that the deceased had been strangled. This particular had not been told, for the poor old man, when Peter was going for La Moire, cried out, "Save at least the honour of my family; do not go and spread a report that your brother has made away with himself."

A crowd of people by this time were gathered about the house, and one Casing, with another friend or two of the family, had come in. Some of those who were in the street had heard the cries and exclamations within, but knew not the occasion; and having by some means heard that Anthony Calas was suddenly dead, and that the surgeon, who had examined the body, declared he had been strangled, they took it into their heads he had been murdered; and as the family were Protestants, they presently supposed that the young man was about to change his religion, and had been put to death for that reason. The cries they had heard they fancied were those of the deceased, while he was resisting the violence done to him. The tumult in the street increased every moment: some said that Anthony Calas was to have abjured the next day; others, that Protestants are bound by their religion to strangle or cut the throats of their children when they are inclined to become

Catholics. Others, who had found out that La Vaisse was in the house when the accident happened, very confidently affirmed, that the Protestants, at their last assembly, appointed a person to be their common executioner upon these occasions, and that La Vaisse was the man, who, in consequence of the office, to which he had been appointed, had come to Calas' house to hang his son.

Now the poor father, who was overwhelmed with grief for the loss of his child, was advised by his friends to send for the officers of justice, to prevent his being torn to pieces by the ignorant and bigoted mob. A messenger was accordingly despatched to the capitoul, or first magistrate of the place; and another to an inferior officer, called an assessor. The capitoul had already set out, having been alarmed by the rumour of a murder. He entered Calas' house with forty soldiers, took the father, Peter, the son, the mother, La Vaisse, and the maid, all into custody, and set a guard over them. He sent for M. de la Tour, a physician, and M. la Marque and Perronet, surgeons, who examined the body for marks of violence, but found none except the mark of the ligature on the neck: they found also the hair of the deceased done up in the usual manner, perfectly smooth, and without the least disorder: his clothes were also regularly folded up, and laid upon the counter, nor was his shirt either unbuttoned or torn.

The capitoul, notwithstanding these appearances, thought proper to agree with the opinion of the mob, and took it into his head that old Calas had sent for La Vaisse, telling him he had a son to be hanged; that La Vaisse had come to perform the office of executioner; and that he had received assistance from the father and brother.

On account of these notions the capitoul ordered the body of the deceased to be carried to the town-house, with the clothes. The father and son were thrown into a dark dungeon; and the mother, La Vaisse, the maid, and Casing, were imprisoned in one that admitted the light. The next day, what is called the verbal process was taken at the town-house, instead of the spot where the body was found, as the law directs, and was dated at Calas' house, to conceal the irregularity. This verbal process is somewhat like the coroner's inquest in England; witnesses are examined, and the magistrate makes his report, similar to the verdict of a coroner's jury in England. The witnesses examined by the capitoul were, the physician and surgeon, who proved Anthony Calas to have been strangled. The surgeon having been ordered to examine the stomach of the deceased, deposed also, that the food which was found there had been taken four hours before his death. Finding that no proof of the murder could be procured, the capitoul had recourse to a monitory, or general information, in which the crime was taken for granted, and all persons were required to give such testimony against it as they were able, particularizing the points to which they were to speak. This recites, that La Vaisse was commissioned by the Protestants to be their executioner in ordinary, when any of their children were to be hanged for changing their religion: it recites also, that when the Protestants thus hang their children, they compel them to kneel, and one of the interrogatories was, whether any person had seen Anthony Calas kneel before his father when he strangled him: it recites likewise, that Anthony died a Roman Catholic, and requires evidence of his catholicism.

These ridiculous opinions being adopted and published by the principal magistrate of a considerable city, the church of Geneva thought itself obliged to send an attestation of its abhorrence of opinions so abominable and absurd, and of its astonishment that they should be suspected of such opinions by persons whose rank and office required them to have more knowledge and better judgment.

However, before this monitory was published, the mob had got a notion, that Anthony Calas was the next day to have entered into the fraternity of the White Penitents. The capitoul immediately adopted this opinion also, without the least examination, and ordered Anthony's body to be buried in the middle of St. Stephen's church, which was accordingly done; forty priests, and all the white penitents, assisting in the funeral procession.

A short time after the interment of the deceased, the white penitents performed a solemn service for him in their chapel: the church was hung with white, and a tomb was raised in the middle of it, on the top of which was placed a human skeleton, holding in one hand a paper, on which was written, "Abjuration of heresy," and in the other a palm, the emblem of martyrdom.

The Franciscans performed a service of the same kind for him the next day; and it is easy to imagine how much the minds of the people were inflamed by this strange folly of their magistrates and priests.

Still the capitoul continued the prosecution with unrelenting severity; and though the grief and distraction of the family, when he first came to the house, were alone sufficient to have convinced any reasonable being that they were not the authors of the event which they

deplored, yet having publicly attested that they were guilty, in his monitory, without proof, and no proof coming in, he thought fit to condemn the unhappy father, mother, brother, friend, and servant, to the torture, and put them all into irons, on the 18th of November. Casing was released, upon proof that he was not in Calas' house till after Anthony was dead.

From these dreadful proceedings the sufferers appealed to the parliament, which immediately took cognisance of the affair, and annulled the sentence of the capitoul as irregular; but the prosecution still continued.

As soon as the trial came on, the hangman, who had been taken to Calas' house, and shown the folding-doors and the bar, deposed, that it was impossible Anthony should hang himself as was pretended. Another witness swore, that he looked through the key-hole of Calas' door into a room, where he saw men running hastily to and fro. A third swore, that his wife had told him, a woman named Maundrill had told her, that a certain woman unknown had declared, she heard the cries of Anthony Calas at the further end of the city.

From this absurd evidence the majority of the parliament were of opinion, that the prisoners were guilty, and therefore ordered them to be tried by the criminal court of Thoulouse.

There was among those who presided at the trial one La Borde, who had zealously espoused the popular prejudices; and though it was manifest to demonstration that the prisoners were either all innocent or all guilty, he voted that the father should first suffer the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, to discover his accomplices, and be then broken alive upon the wheel; to receive the last stroke when he had lain two hours, and then to be

burnt to ashes. In this opinion he had the concurrence of six others; three were for the torture alone; two were of opinion that they should endeavour to ascertain on the spot whether Anthony could hang himself or not; and one voted to acquit the prisoner. After long debates the majority was for the torture and wheel, and probably condemned the father by way of experiment, whether he was guilty or not, hoping he would, in the agony, confess the crime, and accuse the other prisoners, whose fate, therefore, they suspended. It is, however, certain, that if they had evidence against the father that would have justified the sentence they pronounced against him, that very evidence would have justified the same sentence against the rest; and that they could not justly condemn him alone, they being all in the house together when Anthony died.

However, poor Calas, who was 68 years of age, was condemned to this dreadful punishment. He suffered the torture with great constancy, and was led to execution in a frame of mind which excited respect and admiration.

Father Bourges and father Coldagues, the two Dominicans, who attended him in his last moments, wished their latter end might be like his, and declared, that they thought him not only wholly innocent of the crime laid to his charge, but an exemplary instance of true Christian patience, charity, and fortitude.

He gave but one shriek, when he received the first stroke; after which he uttered no complaint. Being at length placed on the wheel, to wait for the moment which was to end his life and his misery together, he declared himself full of an humble hope of a glorious immortality, and a compassionate regard for the judges who had condemned him. When he saw the executioner

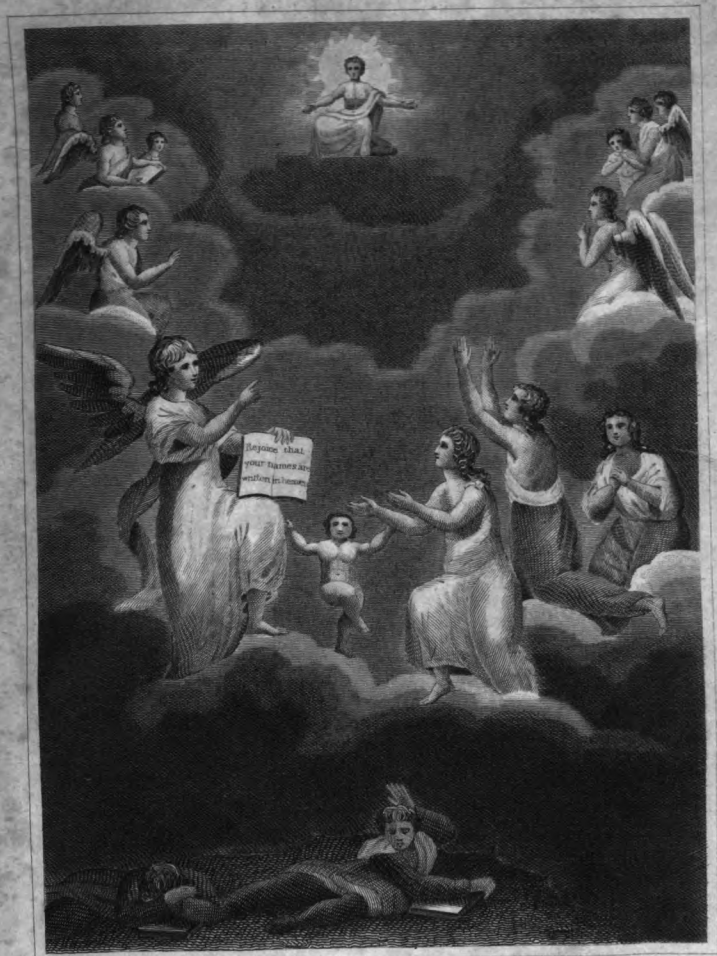
prepared to give him the last stroke, he made a fresh declaration of his innocence to father Bourges; but while the words were yet in his mouth, the capitoul, the author of this catastrophe, and who came upon the scaffold merely to gratify his desire of being a witness of his punishment and death, ran up to him, and bawled out, "Wretch, there are the faggots which are to reduce your body to ashes; speak the truth." M. Calas made no reply, but turned his head a little aside, and that moment the executioner did his office.

Donat Calas, a boy of fifteen years of age, the youngest son of the unfortunate victim, was apprentice to a merchant at Nismes, when he heard of the dreadful punishment by which seven prejudiced judges of Thoulouse had put his worthy father to death.

So violent was the popular outcry against this family in Languedoc, that every body expected to see the children of Calas broke upon the wheel, and the mother burnt alive. So weak had been the defence made by this innocent family, oppressed by misfortunes, and terrified at the sight of lighted piles, racks, and wheels. Young Donat Calas dreading to share the fate of the rest of his family, was advised to fly into Switzerland. He did so, and there found a gentleman, who, at first, could only pity and relieve him, without daring to judge of the rigour exercised against his father, mother, and brothers. Shortly after, one of the brothers, who was only banished, likewise threw himself into the arms of the same person, who, for more than a month, took all possible means to be assured of the innocence of this family. But when he was once convinced, he thought himself obliged, in conscience, to employ his friends, his purse, his pen, and his credit, to repair the fatal mistake of the seven judges of Thoulouse, and to have the proceedings

revised by the king's counsel. This revision lasted three years, and at the end of that time, fifty masters of the Court of Requests unanimously declared the whole family of Calas innocent, and recommended them to the benevolent justice of his majesty. The duke de Choiseul, who never let slip an opportunity of signalizing the greatness of his character, not only assisted this unfortunate family with money from his own purse, but obtained for them a gratuity of 36,000 livres from the king.

The arret which justified the family of Calas, and changed their fate, was signed on the 9th of March, 1765. The 9th of March, 1762, was the very day on which the innocent and virtuous father of that family had been executed. All Paris ran in crowds to see them come out of prison, and clapped their hands for joy, while the tears streamed down their cheeks,



TRIUMPH OF THE GOSPEL.

BOOK IX.

CONTAINING A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION,
AND THE REMARKABLE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH PRE-
CEDED IT, FROM THE TIME OF WICKLIFFE TO THE
REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

SECTION I.

PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE GREAT AS-
CENDANCY OF THE POPES THROUGHOUT
CHRISTENDOM, IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

To relate the tyrannical innovations upon the religion of Christ during the space of more than three hundred years, would be the province of a writer on church history, and is quite incompatible with our limits. Suffice it to say, that scarcely a foreign war or civil broil convulsed Europe during that period, which did not originate in the infernal artifices of popes, monks, and friars. They frequently fell victims to their own machinations; for, from the year 1004, many popes died violent deaths: several were poisoned; Sylvester was cut to pieces by his own people: and the reigns of his successors were but short. Benedict, who succeeded John XXI. thought proper to resist the emperor Henry III. and place in his room Peter, king of Hungary; but afterwards being alarmed by the success of Henry, he *sold* his seat to Gratianus, called Gregory VI. At this time there were three popes in Rome, all striving against each other for

the supreme power, viz. Benedict IX. Sylvester III. and Gregory VI. But the emperor, Henry, coming to Rome, displaced these three monsters at once, and appointed Clement the Second, enacting, that henceforth no bishop of Rome should be chosen but by the consent of the emperor. Though this law was necessary for public tranquillity, yet it interfered too much with the ambitious views of the cardinals, who accordingly exerted themselves to get it repealed; and failing in this, on the departure of the emperor for Germany, they poisoned Clement, and at once violated the law by choosing another pope, without the imperial sanction.

This was Damasus II. who being also poisoned, within a few days from his appointment, much contention took place. Whereupon the Romans sent to the emperor, desiring him to give them a bishop; upon which he selected Bruno, a German, called Leo IX. This pope was also poisoned, in the first year of his popedom.

After his death Theophylactus made an effort to be pope, but Hildebrand, to defeat him, went to the emperor, and persuaded him to assign another bishop, a German, who ascended the papal chair under the title of Victor II.

The second year of his papacy, this pope also followed his predecessors, like them being poisoned.

On the death of Victor, the cardinals elected Stephen IX. for pope, contrary to their oath, and the emperor's assignment. From this period, indeed, their ascendancy was so great, that the most powerful sovereigns of Europe were obliged to do them homage; and Nicholas, who succeeded Stephen, established the Council of the Lateran.

In this council first was promulgated the terrible sentence of excommunication against all such as "do creep

into the seat of Peter by money or favour, without the full consent of the cardinals;" cursing them and their children, with the anger of Almighty God; and giving authority and power to cardinals, with the clergy and laity, to depose all such persons, and call a counsel-general, wheresoever they will, against them.

Pope Nicholas only reigned three years and a half, and then, like his predecessors, was poisoned.

SUBMISSION OF THE EMPEROR HENRY IV. TO THE POPE.

To such a height had papal insolence now attained, that, on the emperor Henry IV. refusing to submit to some decrees of pope Gregory VII. the latter excommunicated him, and absolved all his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him: on this he was deserted by his nobility, and dreading the consequences, though a brave man, he found it necessary to make his submission. He accordingly repaired to the city of Canusium, where the pope then was, and went barefooted with his wife and child to the gate; where he remained from morning to night, fasting, humbly desiring absolution, and craving to be let in. But no ingress being given him, he continued thus three days together; at length, answer came, that his holiness had yet no leisure to talk with him. The emperor patiently waited without the walls, although in the depth of winter. At length his request was granted through the intreaties of Matilda, the pope's paramour. On the fourth day, being let in, for a token of his true repentance, he yielded to the pope's hands his crown, and confessed himself unworthy of the empire, if he ever again offended against the pope, desiring for that time to be absolved and forgiven.

The pope answered, he would neither forgive him, nor release the bond of his excommunication, but upon condition, that he would abide by his arbitrement, in the council, and undergo such penance as he should enjoin him; that he should answer to all objections and accusations laid against him, and that he should never seek revenge; that it should be at the pope's pleasure, whether his kingdom should be restored or not. Finally, that before the trial of his cause, he should neither use his kingly ornaments, nor usurp the authority to govern, nor to exact any oath of allegiance from his subjects, &c. These things being promised to the pope by an oath, the emperor was only released from excommunication.

KING JOHN SURRENDERS HIS CROWN TO THE POPE.

The ascendancy of the popes was never more fully evinced than by a remarkable fact in the history of our own country. King John, having incurred the hatred of his barons and people by his cruel and tyrannical measures, they took arms against him, and offered the crown to Louis, son of the French king. By seizing the possessions of the clergy, John had also fallen under the displeasure of the pope, who accordingly laid the kingdom under an interdict, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. Alarmed at this, the tyrant earnestly sued for peace with his holiness, hoping, by his mediation, to obtain favourable terms from the barons, or, by his thunders, to terrify them into submission. He made the most abject supplications, and the pope, ever willing to increase the power of the church, sent cardinal Pandulf as legate to the king at Canterbury; to whom John resigned his crown and dominions; and

the cardinal, after retaining the crown five days, in token of possession, returned it to the king, on condition of his making a yearly payment of 1000 marks to the court of Rome, and holding the dominions of England and Ireland *in farm* from the pope.

But if John expected any benefit from this most disgraceful transaction, he was disappointed; and instead of enjoying the crown which he had so basely surrendered and received again, the short remainder of his life was disturbed by continual insurrections, and he at last died either of grief, or by poison administered to him by a monk of the convent of Swineshead in Lincolnshire. The latter cause is assigned by many historians, and we are told that the king, suspecting some fruit, which was presented to him at the above convent, to be poisoned, ordered the monk who brought it, to eat of it; which he did, and died in a few hours after,

AN EMPEROR TRODDEN ON BY THE POPE.

The papal usurpations were extended to every part of Europe. In Germany, the emperor Frederic was compelled to submit to be trodden under the feet of pope Alexander, and dared not make any resistance. In England, however, a spirit of resentment broke out in various reigns, in consequence of the oppressions and horrible conduct of those anti-christian blasphemers, which continued with more or less violence till the time of the great Wickliffe, of whom we shall speak more fully in the following pages.

SECTION II.

ACCOUNT OF WICKLIFFE, AND OF THE MARTYRS WHO
SUFFERED IN DEFENCE OF HIS DOCTRINES.

The first attempts made in England towards the reformation of the church, took place in the reign of Edward III. about A. D. 1350, when John Wickliffe appeared. He translated the Bible into English, which, amidst the ignorance of the times, may be compared to the sun breaking forth in a dark night. To this Bible he prefixed a bold preface, wherein he reflected on the immoralities of the clergy, and condemned the worship of saints, images, and the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament: but what gave the greatest offence to the priests, was, his exhorting all people to read the scriptures, in which the testimonies against all those corruptions appeared so strongly.

About the same time the common people, goaded to desperation by the oppressions of the nobility and clergy, rose in arms, and committed great devastations; and, among other persons of distinction, they put to death Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury. He was succeeded by William Courtney, who was no less diligent than his predecessor had been, in attempting to root out *heretics*. Notwithstanding all opposition, however, Wickliffe's sect increased, and daily grew to greater force until the time that William Barton, vice-chancellor of Oxford, who had the whole rule of that university, assisted by some monastic doctors, issued an edict, prohibiting all persons, under a heavy penalty, from associating themselves with any of Wickliffe's favourers; and threatening Wickliffe himself with excommunication and imprisonment, unless he, after three days cano-

nical admonition or warning, did repent and amend. Upon this, Wickliffe wished to appeal to the king: but the duke of Lancaster forbade him; whereupon he was forced again to make confession of his doctrine; in which confession, by qualifying his assertions, he mitigated the rigour of his enemies.

BURNING OF THE WICKLIFFITES.

In the council of the Lateran, a decree was made with regard to heretics, which required all magistrates to extirpate them upon pain of forfeiture and deposition. The canons of this council being received in England, the prosecution of heretics became a part of the common law; and a writ (styled *de heretico comburendo*) was issued under king Henry IV. for burning them upon their conviction; and it was enacted, that all who presumed to preach without the license of the bishops, should be imprisoned, and be brought to trial within three months. If, upon conviction, they offered to abjure, and were not relapses, they were to be imprisoned and fined at pleasure; but if they refused to abjure, or were relapses, they were to be delivered over to the secular arm; and the magistrates were to burn them in some public place. About this time William Sautre, parish priest of St. Osith in London, being condemned as a relapse, and degraded by Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, a writ was issued, wherein burning is called the common punishment, and referring to the customs of other nations. This was the first example of that sort in England.

The clergy, alarmed lest the doctrines of Wickliffe should ultimately become established, used every exer-

tion in their power to check them. In the reign of Richard II. the bishops had obtained a general license to imprison heretics, without being obliged to procure a special order from court, which, however, the house of commons caused to be revoked. But as the fear of imprisonment could not check the pretended evil dreaded by the bishops, Henry IV. whose particular object was to secure the affection of the clergy, earnestly recommended to the parliament the concerns of the church. How reluctant soever the house of commons might be to prosecute the Lollards, the credit of the court, and the cabals of the clergy, at last obtained a most detestable act, for the burning of obstinate heretics; which bloody statute was not repealed till the year 1677. It was immediately after the passing of this statute that the ecclesiastical court condemned William Sautre above-mentioned.

MARTYRDOM OF SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE.

The persecutions of the Lollards in the reign of Henry V. were owing to the cruel instigations of the clergy, who thought that the most effectual way to check the progress of Wickliffe's doctrine, would be to attack the then chief protector of it, viz. Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham; and to persuade the king that the Lollards were engaged in conspiracies to overturn the state. It was even reported, that they intended to murder the king, together with the princes, his brothers, and most of the lords spiritual and temporal, in hopes that the confusion which must necessarily arise in the kingdom, after such a massacre, would prove favourable to their religion. Upon this a false rumour was spread, that Sir John Oldcastle had got together 20,000 men in St. Giles'

in the Fields, a place then overgrown with bushes. The king himself went thither at midnight, and finding no more than fourscore or a hundred persons, who were privately met upon a religious account, he fell upon them and killed many. Some of them being afterwards examined, were prevailed upon, by promises or threats, to confess whatever their enemies desired; and these accused Sir John Oldcastle.

The king hereupon thought him guilty; and in that belief set a thousand marks upon his head, with a promise of perpetual exemption from taxes to any town which should secure him. Sir John was apprehended and imprisoned in the Tower; but escaping from thence, he fled into Wales, where he long concealed himself. But being afterwards seized in Powisland, in North Wales, by Lord Powis, he was brought to London, to the great joy of the clergy, who were highly incensed against him, and resolved to sacrifice him, to strike a terror into the rest of the Lollards. Sir John was of a very good family, had been sheriff of Hertfordshire under Henry IV. and summoned to parliament among the barons of the realm in that reign. He had been sent beyond the sea, with the earl of Arundel, to assist the duke of Burgundy against the French. In a word, he was a man of extraordinary merit, notwithstanding which he was condemned to be hanged up by the waist with a chain, and burnt alive. This most barbarous sentence was executed amidst the curses and imprecations of the priests and monks, who used their utmost endeavours to prevent the people from praying for him. Such was the tragical end of Sir John Oldcastle, who left the world with a resolution and constancy, that answered perfectly to the brave spirit with which he had ever maintained the cause of truth and of his God.

Not satisfied with his single death, the clergy induced the parliament to make fresh statutes against the Lollards. It was enacted, among other things, that whosoever read the scriptures in English, should forfeit land, chattels, goods, and life; and be condemned as heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and traitors to the kingdom; that they should not have the benefit of any sanctuary; and that, if they continued obstinate, or relapsed after being pardoned, they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then burned for heresy against God. This act was no sooner passed, but a violent persecution was raised against the Lollards; several of them were burnt alive, some fled the kingdom, and others were weak enough to abjure their religion, to escape the torments prepared for them.

CONFESSION OF SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE.

The following is the confession of this virtuous and true Christian, which, from its clearness and simplicity, is well worthy of remembrance. He commences with the apostle's creed thus:

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth: and in Jesus Christ his only son our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, crucified, dead, and buried, went down to hell, the third day rose again from death, ascended up to Heaven, sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; and from thence shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the universal holy church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the uprising of the flesh, and everlasting life. Amen.

“And for a more large declaration of this my faith in the Catholic church, I steadfastly believe, that there is but one God Almighty, in and of whose godhead are these three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that those three persons are the self-same God Almighty. I believe also, that the second person in this most blessed trinity, in most convenient time appointed thereunto before, took flesh and blood of the most blessed Virgin Mary, for the safe-guard and redemption of the universal kind of man, which was before lost in Adam’s offence.

“Moreover I believe, that the same Jesus Christ our Lord, thus being both God and man, is the only head of the whole Christian church, and that all those that have been or shall be saved, be members of this most holy church.

“Whereof the first sort be now in Heaven, and they are the saints from hence departed. These as they were here conversant, conformed always their lives to the most holy laws and pure examples of Christ, renouncing satan, the world, and the flesh, with all their concupiscence and evils.

“The other sort are here upon earth and called the church militant. For day and night they contend against crafty assaults of the devil, the flattering prosperities of this world, and the rebellious filthiness of the flesh.”

SECTION III.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN THE REIGN OF
HENRY VIII.

Henry the Eighth had been educated with more than ordinary care: learning being then in its dawning, after a night of long and gross ignorance, his father having given orders that both his elder brother and he should be well instructed in matters of knowledge. The learning then most in credit among the clergy was the scholastical divinity, which, by a show of subtilty, recommended itself to curious persons; and being very suitable to a vain and contentious temper, agreed best with his disposition; and further, it being likely to draw the most flattery, became the chief subject of his studies, in which he grew not only to be eminent for a prince, but he might really have past for a learned man had his quality been never so mean. He delighted in the purity of the Latin tongue, and understood philosophy, and was so great a master in music, that he composed well. He was a bountiful patron to all learned men, more particularly to Erasmus and Polydore Virgil, and delighted much in those returns which hungry scholars make to liberal princes; for he loved flattery out of measure, and he had enough of it to have surfeited a man of any modesty; for all the world, both at home and abroad, contended who should exceed most indecently in setting out his praises. The clergy carried it; for as he had merited most at their hands, both by espousing the interests of the papacy, and by his entering the lists with

Luther,* so those that hoped to be advanced by those arts, were as little ashamed in magnifying him out of measure, as he was in receiving their gross commendations.

CHARACTER OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

One of the most remarkable men of this, or perhaps of any other age, was Cardinal Wolsey. He was of mean extraction, but possessed great abilities, and had a wonderful dexterity in insinuating himself into men's favour. He had but a little time been introduced to the king before he obtained an entire ascendancy over him, and the direction of all his affairs, and for fifteen years continued to be the most absolute favourite ever known in England. He saw the king was much set on his pleasures, and had a great aversion to business, and the other counsellors being unwilling to bear the load of affairs, were troublesome to him, by pressing him to govern by his own counsels; but Wolsey knew the methods of favourites better, and so was not only easy, but assistant to the king in his pleasures, and undertook to free him from the trouble of government, and to give him leisure to follow his appetites.

He was master of all the offices at home, and treaties abroad, so that all affairs went as he directed them. He soon became obnoxious to parliaments, and therefore tried but one during his ministry, where the supply was granted so scantily, that afterwards he chose rather to raise money by loans and benevolences, than by the free

* It was for his writings against Luther, in defence of papacy, that the pope bestowed upon him the title of **DEFENDER OF THE FAITH**, which the British monarchs have, absurdly enough, retained to this day.

gift of the people in parliament. He in time became so scandalous for his ill life, that he grew to be a disgrace to his profession; for he not only served the king, but also shared with him in his pleasures. He was first made bishop of Tournay in Flanders, then of Lincoln, after that he was promoted to the see of York, and had both the abbey of St. Albans, and the bishopric of Bath and Wells in commendam; the last he afterwards exchanged for Duresm; and upon Fox's death he quitted Duresm, that he might take Winchester; and besides all this, the king, by a special grant, gave him power to dispose of all the ecclesiastical preferments in England; so that in effect he was the pope of the British world, and no doubt but he copied skilfully enough after those patterns that were set him at Rome. Being made a cardinal, and setting up a legatine court, he found it fit for his ambition to have the great seal likewise, that there might be no clashing between those two jurisdictions. He had, in one word, all the qualities necessary for a great minister, and all the vices usual in a great favourite.

PROGRESS OF LUTHER'S DOCTRINE.

The rise and progress of the doctrines of Luther are well known; the scandalous sale of indulgences gave the first occasion to all that followed between him and the church of Rome; in which, had not the corruptions and cruelties of the clergy been so visible and scandalous, so small a cause could never have produced so great a revolution.

HISTORY OF HENRY'S MARRIAGE WITH CATHERINE. •

As this incident is so replete with consequences, a particular relation of its cause will not, it is presumed, be unacceptable to the reader.

Henry the Seventh had entered into a firm alliance with Ferdinand of Spain, and agreed on a match between his son prince Arthur, and Catherine the Infanta of Spain. She came into England, and was married in November: but on the second of April after, the prince died.

The king being unwilling to restore so great a portion as 200,000 ducats, which the princess brought as her dowry, proposed a second match for her with his younger son Henry. Warham objected against the lawfulness of it; but Fox, bishop of Winchester, was for it, and the opinion of the pope's authority was then so well established, that it was thought a dispensation from Rome was sufficient to remove all objections. Accordingly, one was obtained, grounded upon the desire of the two young persons to marry together, for the preservation of peace between the crowns of England and Spain.

The pope was then at war with Lewis the Twelfth of France, and so would refuse nothing to the king of England, being perhaps not unwilling that princes should contract such marriages, by which the legitimization of their issue depending on the pope's dispensation, they would be thereby obliged in interest to support that authority. Upon this a marriage followed, the prince being yet under age; but the same day in which he came to be of age, he did, by his father's orders, make a protestation that he retracted and annulled his marriage.

Henry the Seventh on his death-bed, charged his son to break it off entirely, being perhaps apprehensive of

such a return of confusion upon a controverted succession to the crown, as had been during the wars of the houses of York and Lancaster; but after his father's death, Henry the Eighth being then eighteen years of age, married her: she bore him two sons, who died soon after they were born; and a daughter, Mary, afterwards queen of England. After this the queen contracted some diseases that made her unacceptable to the king; who, at the same time beginning to have some scruples of conscience with regard to the lawfulness of his marriage, determined to have the affair investigated.

THE KING'S SCRUPLES CONCERNING HIS MARRIAGE.

He seemed to lay the greatest weight on the prohibition, in the levitical law, of marrying the brother's wife, and being conversant in Thomas Aquinas' writings, he found, that he and the other school-men looked on those laws as moral, and for ever binding; and consequently the pope's dispensation was of no force, since his authority went not so far as to dispense with the laws of God. All the bishops of England, Fisher of Rochester only excepted, declared under their hands and seals, that they judged the marriage unlawful. The ill consequences of wars that might follow upon a doubtful title to the crown, were also much considered. It is not probable that Henry's affection for any other lady was the origin of these proceedings; but rather, that, conceiving himself upon the point of being freed of his former marriage, he gave free scope to his affections, which settled on Anne Boleyn.

This lady was born in the year 1507, and at seven years of age, was sent to France, where she remained

twelve years, and then returned to England. She was much admired in both courts, was more beautiful than graceful, and more cheerful than discreet. She wanted none of the charms of wit or person, and must have had extraordinary attractions, since she could so long retain her place in such a king's affection.

Knight, then secretary of state, was sent to Rome to prepare the pope to grant a dispensation from the former marriage. Knight made application to the pope in the most secret manner he could, and had a very favourable answer; for the pope promised frankly to dissolve the marriage: but another promise being exacted of him by the emperor Charles V. nephew of Catherine, not to proceed in that affair, he was reduced to great straits, being then at his mercy, and yet unwilling to offend the king of England: he therefore studied to gain time, and promised that if the king would have a little patience, he should not only have that which he asked, but every thing that was in his power to grant.

ACCOUNT OF CRANMER.

At this period, Dr. Cranmer, a fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, suggested, that the king should engage the chief universities and divines of Europe, to examine the lawfulness of his marriage; and if they gave their resolutions against it, then it being certain that the pope's dispensation could not derogate from the law of God, the marriage must be declared null. This novel and reasonable scheme they proposed to the king, who was much pleased with it, as he saw this way was better in itself, and would mortify the pope. Cranmer was accordingly sent for, and on conversing with him,

the king conceived an high opinion both of his learning and prudence, as well as of his probity and sincerity, which took such root in his mind, that no artifices, nor calumnies, were ever able to remove it.

WOLSEY IS DISGRACED.

From this moment began the decline of Wolsey. The great seal was taken from him, and given to Sir Thomas More: and he was sued in a præmunire, for having held the legatine courts by a foreign authority, contrary to the laws of England: he confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance, and submitted himself to the king's mercy; so judgment passed on him: then was his rich palace and royal furniture seized on for the royal use; yet the king received him again into his protection, and restored to him the temporalities of the sees of York and Winchester, and above £6000 in plate and other goods. Articles were, however, preferred against him, in the house of lords, where he had but few friends; but Cromwell, who had been his secretary, did so manage the matter in the house of commons, that it came to nothing. This failing, his enemies procured an order to be sent to him, to go into Yorkshire: thither he went in great state, with 160 horses in his train, and 72 carts following him. There he lived some time; but the king being informed, that he was practising with the pope and the emperor, sent the earl of Northumberland to arrest him for high treason, and bring him up to London. On the way he sickened, and died at Leicester, making great protestations of his constant fidelity to the king, particularly in the matter of his divorce: and "wishing he had served God as faithfully as he had done the king;

for then he would not have cast him off in his grey hairs, as the king had done:" words that declining favourites are apt to reflect on, but seldom remember in the height of their fortune.

THE UNIVERSITIES DECLARE AGAINST THE KING'S MARRIAGE.

The king now intending to proceed in the method proposed by Cranmer, sent to Oxford and Cambridge, to procure their conclusions. At Oxford, it was referred by the major part of the convocation to thirty-three doctors and bachelors of divinity, whom that faculty was to name: they were empowered to determine the question, and put the seal of the university to their conclusion. And they gave their opinions, that the marriage of the brother's wife was contrary both to the laws of God and nature. At Cambridge the convocation referred the question to twenty-nine; of which number, two-thirds agreeing, they were empowered to put the seal of the university to their determination. These agreed in opinion with those of Oxford. The jealousy of Dr. Cranmer's favouring Lutheranism, caused the fierce popish party to oppose every thing in which he was engaged. They were also afraid of Anne Boleyn's advancement, who was believed to be tinctured with these opinions. Crook, a learned man, was employed in Italy, to procure the resolutions of divines there; in which he was so successful, that besides the great discoveries he made in searching the manuscripts of the Greek fathers concerning their opinions in this point, he engaged several persons to write for the king's cause: and also got the Jews to give their opinions of the laws in Leviticus,

that they were moral and obligatory; yet, when a brother died without issue, his brother might marry his widow within Judea, for preserving their families and succession; but they thought that might not be done out of Judea. The state of Venice would not declare themselves, but said they would be neutral, and it was not easy to persuade the divines of the republic to give their opinions, till a brief was obtained of the pope, permitting all divines and canonists to deliver their opinions according to their consciences. The pope abhorred this way of proceeding, though he could not decently oppose it: but he said, in great scorn, that no friar should set limits to his power. Crook was ordered to give no money, nor make promises to any, till they had freely delivered their opinion; which he is said to have faithfully observed.

He sent over to England several hundred books, and papers, with many subscriptions; all condemning the king's marriage as unlawful in itself. At Paris, the Sorbonne made their determination with great solemnity; after mass, all the doctors took an oath to study the question, and to give their judgment according to their consciences; and after three weeks study, the greater part agreed on this: "that the king's marriage was unlawful, and that the pope could not dispense with it." At Orleans, Angiers, and Toulouse, they determined to the same purpose.

Calvin thought the marriage null, and all agreed that the pope's dispensation was of no force. Osiander was employed to engage the Lutheran divines, but they were afraid of giving the emperor new grounds of displeasure.

Melancthon thought the law in Leviticus was dispensable, and that the marriage might be lawful; and that,

in those matters, states and princes might make what laws they pleased; and though the divines of Leipsic, after much disputing about it, did agree that those laws were moral, yet they could never be brought to justify the divorce, with the subsequent marriage; but the pope was more compliant, for he offered to Cassali, to grant the king dispensations for having another wife, with which the Imperialists seemed not dissatisfied.

The king's cause being thus fortified by so many resolutions in his favour, he made many members of parliament, in a prorogation time, sign a letter to the pope, complaining, that notwithstanding the great merits of the king, the justice of his cause, and the importance of it to the safety of the kingdom, yet the pope made still new delays; they therefore pressed him to despatch it speedily, otherwise they would be forced to seek other remedies, though they were not willing to drive things to extremities, till it was unavoidable. The letter was signed by the cardinal, the archbishop of Canterbury, four bishops, twenty-two abbots, forty-two peers, and eleven commoners.

To this the pope wrote an answer: he took notice of the vehemence of their style: he freed himself from the imputations of ingratitude and injustice: he acknowledged the king's great merits; and said, he had done all he could in his favour: he had granted a commission, but could not refuse to receive the queen's appeal; all the cardinals with one consent judged, that an avocation was necessary. Since that time, the delays lay not with him, but with the king; that he was ready to proceed, and would bring it to as speedy an issue as the importance of it would admit of; and for their threatenings, they were neither agreeable to their wisdom, nor their religion.

B b

The king, now disgusted at his dependence on the pope, issued a proclamation against any that should purchase, bring over, or publish any bull from Rome, contrary to his authority: and after that he made an abstract of all the reasons and authorities of the fathers, or modern writers, against his marriage, to be published both in Latin and English.

Both sides having produced the strength of their cause, it evidently appeared, that, according to the authority given to the tradition in the church of Rome, the king had clearly the right on his side.

Amidst these disputes the queen continued firm to her resolution of leaving the matter in the pope's hands, and would not listen to any propositions for referring the matter to the arbitration of a number chosen on both sides.

THE KING LEAVES THE QUEEN.

New applications were made to the queen to persuade her to depart from her appeal; but she remained fixed in her resolution, and said she was the king's lawful wife, and would abide by it till the court of Rome should declare the contrary. Upon that, the king desired her to choose any of his houses in the country to live in, and resolved never to see her more.

THE POPE WRITES TO THE KING, AND IS ANSWERED.

In January, 1532, the pope wrote to the king, complaining that he had put away his queen, and kept one Anne as his wife, contrary to a prohibition served on him; he therefore exhorted him to live with his queen

again, and to put away Anne. Upon this the king sent Dr. Bennet to Rome with a large despatch, in which he complained that the pope proceeded in that matter upon the suggestion of others, who were ignorant and rash men, and had carried himself inconstantly and deceitfully in it, and not as became Christ's vicar. It was plain that he acted more with regard to his interests, than according to conscience; and that, as the pope had often confessed his own ignorance in these matters, so he was not furnished with learned men to advise him, otherwise he would not defend a marriage which almost all the learned men and universities in England, France, and Italy, had condemned as unlawful. He would not question his authority, unless he were compelled to it, and would do nothing but reduce it to its first and ancient limits.

This haughty letter made the pope resolve to proceed and end this matter, either by a sentence or a treaty. The king was cited to answer to the queen's appeal at Rome in person, or by proxy; accordingly, Sir Edward Karne was sent thither in the new character of the king's excusator, to excuse the king's appearance, upon such grounds as could be founded on the canon law, and upon the privileges of the crown of England. The Imperialists pressed the pope to give sentence, but the wiser cardinals, who observed that the nation would adhere to the king, if he should be provoked to shake off the pope's yoke, suggested milder counsels.

In conclusion, the pope seemed to favour the king's excusatory plea, upon which the Imperialists made great complaints. But this amounted to no more, than that the king was not bound to appear in person: therefore the cardinals, who were in his interest, advised the king to send over a proxy for answering to the merits of the

cause. Bonner was also sent to England to assure the king, that the pope was now so much in the French interest, that he might confidently refer his matter to him.

At that time the king sent for the speaker of the house of commons, and told him he found the prelates were but half subjects; for they swore at their consecration an oath to the pope, inconsistent with their allegiance and oath to him. By their oath to the pope, they swore to be in no council against him, nor to disclose his secrets; but to maintain the papacy, and the rights and authorities of the church of Rome, against all men. In their oath to the king, they renounced all clauses in their bulls contrary to the king's royal dignity, and swore to be faithful to him, and to live and die with him against all others, and to keep his counsel; acknowledging that they held their bishoprics only of him. It was evident they could not keep both those oaths, in case of a breach between the king and the pope. But the plague broke off the consultations of parliament at this time. Soon after, Sir Thomas More, seeing a rupture with Rome coming on so fast, desired leave to lay down his office, which was upon that conferred on Sir Thomas Audley. More was satisfied with the king's keeping up the laws formerly made in opposition to the papal encroachments, and so had concurred in the suit of the præmunire; but now the matter went farther, and not being able to keep pace with the king's measures, he returned to a private life.

INTERVIEW OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

An interview soon followed between the kings of France and England; in which, Francis promised Henry

to second him in his suit; encouraged him to proceed to a second marriage without delay: and assured him of his assistance and support: meantime, the pope offered to the king, to send a legate to any indifferent place out of England, to form the process, reserving only the giving sentence to himself; and proposed to him, and all princes, a general truce, to be followed by a general council.

The king answered, that such was the present state of the affairs of Europe, that it was not seasonable to call a general council; and that it was contrary to his prerogative to send a proxy to appear at Rome; that by the decrees of general councils, all causes ought to be judged on the place and by a provincial council; and that it was fitter to judge it in England, than any where else: and that by his coronation oath he was bound to maintain the dignities of his crown, and the rights of his subjects; and not to appear before any foreign court. Sir Thomas Elliot was, therefore, sent over with instructions, to move that the cause might be judged in England.

THE KING MARRIES ANNE BOLEYN.

Soon after this, the king married Anne Boleyn; Rowland Lee (afterwards bishop of Coventry and Lichfield) officiated, none being present but the duke of Norfolk, and her father, mother, brother, and Cranmer. It was thought that the former marriage being null, the king might proceed to another: and perhaps, they hoped, that as the pope had formerly proposed this method, so he would now approve of it. But though the pope had joined himself to France, yet he was still so much in fear of the emperor, that he dared not provoke him. A

new citation was therefore issued out, for the king to answer to the queen's complaints; but Henry's agents protested, that their master was a sovereign prince, and England a free church, over which the pope had no just authority; and that the king could expect no justice at Rome, where the emperor's power was so great.

THE PARLIAMENT CONDEMNS APPEALS TO ROME.

At this time, the parliament met again, and passed an act, condemning all appeals to Rome; and enacting, that thenceforth all causes should be judged within the kingdom, and that sentences given in England were to have full effect: and all that executed any censures from Rome, were to incur the pain of præmunire.

CRANMER MADE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, having died the preceding year, was succeeded by Cranmer, who was then in Germany, disputing in the king's cause with some of the emperor's divines. The king resolved to advance him to that dignity, and sent him word of it, that so he might make haste over: but a promotion so far above his thoughts, had not its common effects on him: he had a true and primitive sense of so great a charge; and instead of aspiring to it, feared it; and, returning very slowly to England, used all his endeavours to be excused from that advancement. Bulls were sent for to Rome, in order to his consecration, which the pope granted, and on the 30th of March, Cranmer was consecrated by the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St.

Asaph. The oath to the pope was of hard digestion to him. He therefore made a protestation, before he took it, that he conceived himself not bound up by it in any thing that was contrary to his duty to God, to his king, or to his country; and this he repeated when he took it.

ARGUMENTS FOR REJECTING THE POPE'S POWER.

In England the foundations on which the papal authority was built, had been examined with extraordinary care of late years; and several books were written on that subject. It was demonstrated that all the apostles were made equal in the powers that Christ gave them, and he often condemned their contests about superiority, but never declared in St. Peter's favour. St. Paul withstood him to his face, and reckoned himself not inferior to him. If the dignity of a person left any authority with the city in which he sat, then Antioch must carry it as well as Rome; and Jerusalem, where Christ suffered, was to be preferred to all the world, for it was truly the mother-church. The other privileges ascribed to St. Peter, were either only a precedence of order, or were occasioned by his fall, as that injunction, "Feed my sheep," it being a restoring him to the apostolical function. St. Peter had also a limited province, the circumcision, as St. Paul had the uncircumcision, of far greater extent; which showed that Peter was not considered as the universal pastor.

Several sees, as Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileia, pretended exemption from the papal authority. Many English bishops had asserted that the popes had no authority against the canons, and to that day no canon

the pope made was binding till it was received; which showed the pope's authority was not believed to be founded on a divine authority: and the contests which the kings of England had had with the popes concerning investitures, bishops doing homage, appeals to Rome, and the authority of papal bulls and provisions, showed that the pope's power was believed to be subject to laws and custom, and so not derived from Christ and St. Peter; and laws had given them some power, and princes had been forced in ignorant ages to submit to their usurpations, so they might, as they saw cause, change those laws, and resume their rights.

The next point inquired into was, the authority that kings had in matters of religion and the church. In the New Testament, Christ was himself subject to the civil powers, and charged his disciples not to affect temporal dominion. They also wrote to the churches to be subject to the higher powers, and call them supreme, and charge every soul to be subject to them: so in scripture the king is called head and supreme, and every soul is said to be under him, which joined together makes up his conclusion, that he is the supreme head over all persons. In the primitive church the bishops only made rules or canons, but pretended to no compulsive authority, but what came from the civil magistrate. Upon the whole matter, they concluded that the pope had no power in England, and that the king had an entire dominion over all his subjects, which extended even to the regulation of ecclesiastical matters.

These questions being fully discussed in many disputes, and published in several books, all the bishops, abbots, and friars of England, Fisher only excepted, were so far satisfied with them, that they resolved to comply with the changes the king was resolved to make.

THE POPE'S POWER REJECTED BY PARLIAMENT.

At the next meeting of parliament there were but seven bishops and twelve abbots present, the rest being unwilling to concur in making this change, though they complied with it when it was made. Every Sunday during the session a bishop preached at St. Paul's, and declared that the pope had no authority in England: before this, they had only said that a general council was above him, and that the exactions of his court, and appeals to it, were unlawful; but now they went a strain higher, to prepare the people for receiving the acts then in agitation. On the 9th of March the commons began the bill for taking away the pope's power, and sent it to the lords on the 14th, who passed it on the 20th without any dissent. In it they set forth the exactions of the court of Rome, grounded on the pope's power of dispensing; and that as none could dispense with the laws of God, so the king and parliament only had the authority of dispensing with the laws of the land; and that therefore such licenses or dispensations as were formerly in use, should be for the future granted by the two archbishops; some of these were to be confirmed under the great seal; and they appointed that thereafter all intercourse with Rome, on those subjects, should cease. They also declared that they did not intend to alter any article of the Catholic faith of Christendom, or of that which was declared in the scripture necessary to salvation. They confirmed all the exemptions granted to monasteries by the popes, but subjected them to the king's visitation, and gave the king and his council power to examine and reform all indulgences and privileges granted by the pope. This act subjected the monasteries entirely to the king's authority, and put them in

no small confusion. Those who loved the reformation rejoiced both to see the pope's power rooted out, and to find the scripture made the standard of religion.

After this act, another passed in both houses in six days time without any opposition, settling the succession of the crown, confirming the sentence of divorce, and the king's marriage with queen Anne, and declaring all marriages within the degrees prohibited by Moses to be unlawful: all that had married within them were appointed to be divorced, and their issue illegitimated; and the succession to the crown was settled upon the king's issue by the present queen, or, in default of that, to the king's right heirs for ever. All were required to swear to maintain the contents of this act; and if any refused to swear to it, or should say any thing to the slander of the king's marriage, he was to be judged guilty of misprision of treason, and to be punished accordingly.

TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT INTO ENGLISH.

Tindal and others at Antwerp were every year either translating or writing books against some of the received errors, and sending them over to England. But the translation of the New Testament, by Tindal, gave the greatest offence, and was much complained of by the clergy as full of errors. Tonstall, then bishop of London, returning from Cambray, to which place More and he had been sent by the king, as he came through Antwerp, bargained with an English merchant who was secretly a friend of Tindal, to procure him as many of his New Testaments as could be had for money. Tindal gladly received this; for being about a more correct edition, he found he would be better enabled to proceed

if the copies of the old were sold off; he therefore gave the merchant all he had, and Tonstall, paying for them, brought them over to England, and burnt them publicly in Cheapside. This was called a burning of the word of God; and it was said the clergy had reason to revenge themselves on it, for it had done them more mischief than all other books whatsoever. But a year after this, the second edition being finished, great numbers were sent over to England, when Constantine, one of Tindal's partners, happened to be taken: believing that some of the London merchants furnished them with money, he was promised his liberty if he would discover who they were: upon this he said the bishop of London did more than all the world besides, for he bought up the greatest part of a faulty impression. The clergy, on their condemning Tindal's translation, promised a new one: but a year after, they said, that it was not necessary to publish the scripture in English, and that the king did well not to set about it.

About this time a book, written by Frith, of Gray's Inn, was published. It was entitled, "The Supplication of the Beggars," and had a vast sale. In it, the beggars were made to complain that the alms of the people were intercepted by the mendicant friars, who were a useless burden to the government; and to tax the pope with cruelty for taking no pity on the poor, since none but those who could pay for it were delivered out of purgatory. The king was so pleased with this, that he would not suffer any thing to be done against the author. Sir Thomas More answered it by another supplication in behalf of the souls in purgatory; setting forth the miseries they were in, and the relief which they received by the masses that were said for them; and therefore

they called upon their friends to support the religious orders, which had now so many enemies.

Frith published a serious answer to the last mentioned work, in which he showed that there was no mention made of purgatory in scripture; that it was inconsistent with the merits of Christ, by which, upon sincere repentance, all sins were pardoned; for if they were pardoned, they could not be punished: and though temporary judgments, either as medicinal corrections or a warning to others, do sometimes fall even on true penitents, yet terrible punishments in another state cannot consist with a free pardon, and the remembering of our sins no more. In expounding many passages of the New Testament, he appealed to More's great friend Erasmus, and showed, that the fire which was spoken of by St. Paul, as that which would consume the wood, hay, and stubble, could only be meant of the fiery trial of persecution. He showed that the primitive church received it not; Ambrose, Jerome, and Austin, did not believe it; the last had plainly said, that no mention was made of it in scripture. The monks alone brought it in; and by many wonderful stories persuaded their ignorant followers of the truth of it, and so made a very profitable trade. This book so provoked the clergy, that they resolved to make the author feel a real fire, for endeavouring to extinguish their imaginary one. Sir Thomas More objected poverty and want of learning to the new preachers; but it was answered, the same was made use of to reproach Christ and his apostles; but a plain simplicity of mind, without artificial improvements, was rather thought a good disposition for men that were to bear a cross, and the glory of God appeared more eminently when the instruments seemed contemptible.

But the pen being thought too feeble and gentle, the clergy betook themselves to persecution. Many were vexed with imprisonments for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English, for harbouring the reformed preachers, and for speaking against the corruptions and vices of the clergy.

Hinton, formerly a curate, who had gone over to Tindal, was seized on his way back with some books he was conveying to England, and was condemned by archbishop Warham. He was kept long in prison; but remaining firm in the truth, he was, at length, burned at Maidstone.

STORY AND MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS BILNEY.

Thomas Bilney was brought up at Cambridge from a child. On leaving the university, he preached in several places; and in his sermons spoke with great boldness against the pride and insolence of the clergy. This was during the ministry of cardinal Wolsey, who, hearing of his attacks, caused him to be seized and imprisoned. Overcome with fear, Bilney abjured, was pardoned, and returned to Cambridge in the year 1530. Here he fell into great horror of mind, in consequence of his instability and denial of the truth. He became ashamed of himself, bitterly repented of his sin, and, growing strong in faith, resolved to make some atonement by a public avowal of his apostacy, and confession of his sentiments. To prepare himself for his task, he studied the scriptures with deep attention for two years; at the expiration of which he again quitted the university, went into Norfolk, where he was born, and preached up and down that county against idolatry and superstition; exhorting

the people to a good life, to give alms, to believe in Christ, and to offer up their souls to him in the sacrament. He openly confessed his own sin of denying the faith; and using no precaution as he went about, was soon taken by the bishop's officers, condemned as a relapse, and degraded. Sir Thomas More sent down the writ to burn him. Parker, afterwards archbishop, was an eye-witness of his sufferings; and affirms, that he bore all his hardships with great fortitude and resignation, and continued very cheerful after his sentence. He eat up the poor provision that was brought him heartily, saying, he must keep up a ruinous cottage till it fell. He had these words of Isaiah often in his mouth, "When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt;" and by burning his finger in the candle, he prepared himself for the stake; saying, the fire would only consume the stubble of his body, and would purify his soul.

On the 10th of November he was brought to the stake, where he repeated the creed, prayed earnestly, and with the deepest sense repeated these words, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, oh Lord!" Dr. Warner, who attended, embraced him, shedding many tears, and wishing he might die in as good a frame of mind as Bilney then was. The friars requested him to inform the people, that they were not instrumental to his death, which he did; so that the last act of his life was one of charity and forgiveness.

The officers then put the reeds and fagots about his body, and set fire to the first, which made a great flame, and disfigured his face: he held up his hands, and struck his breast, crying sometimes "Jesus;" sometimes "Credo!" but the flame was blown away from him several

times, the wind being very high, till at length the wood taking fire, the flame was stronger, and so he yielded up the ghost.

His body being shrunk up, leaned down on the chain, till one of the officers with his halbert struck out the staple of the chain behind him, on which it fell down into the bottom of the fire, when it was covered with wood, and consumed.

The sufferings, the confession, and the heroic death of this martyr, inspirited and animated others to imitate his conduct.

STORY AND MARTYRDOM OF FRITH.

He was a young man much famed for learning, and was the first who wrote in England against the corporeal presence in the sacrament. He followed Zuinglius' doctrine on these grounds: Christ, received in the sacrament, gave eternal life, but this was given only to those who believed, from which he inferred that he was received only by faith. St. Paul said, that the fathers before Christ eat the same spiritual food with Christians; from which it appears, that Christ is now no more corporeally present to us than he was to them; and he argued, from the nature of sacraments in general, and the end of the Lord's Supper, that it was only a commemoration. Yet, upon these premises, he built no other conclusion but that Christ's presence was no article of faith. These reasons he put in writing, which falling into the hands of Sir Thomas More, were answered by him: but Frith never saw the answer till he was put in prison; and then, though he was loaded with irons, and had no books allowed him, he replied.

In his reply he insisted much on the argument, that

the Israelites did eat the same food, and drank of the same rock, and that rock was Christ; and since Christ was only mystically and by faith received by them, he concluded that he was at the present time also received only by faith. He showed that Christ's words, "This is my body," were accommodated to the Jewish phrase of calling the lamb the Lord's passover; and confirmed his opinion with many passages out of the fathers, in which the elements were called signs and figures of Christ's body; and they said, that upon consecration they did not cease to be bread and wine, but remained still in their own proper natures. He also showed that the fathers were strangers to all the consequences of that opinion, as that a body could be in more places than one at the same time, or could be in a place in the manner of a spirit: yet he concluded, that if that opinion were held only as a speculation, it might be tolerated, but he condemned the adoration of the elements as gross idolatry.

For these opinions he was seized on, in May, 1533, and brought before Stokesly, Gardiner, and Longland. They charged him with not believing in purgatory and transubstantiation. He gave the reasons that determined him to look on neither of these as articles of faith; but thought that neither the affirming nor denying them ought to be determined positively. The bishops seemed unwilling to proceed to sentence; but he continuing resolute, Stokesly pronounced it, and so delivered him to the secular arm, desiring that his punishment might be moderated. This request was thought a mockery, when all the world knew that it was intended to burn him. One Hewet, an apprentice of London, was also condemned with him on the same account.

They were brought to the stake at Smithfield on the

4th of July, 1533. On arriving there, Frith expressed great joy, and hugged the fagots with transport: a priest, named Cook, who stood by, called to the people not to pray for them more than they would do for a dog: at this Frith smiled, and prayed God to forgive him: after which the fire was kindled, which consumed them to ashes.

A TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE PROPOSED.

In a convocation which sat at this time, a motion was made for translating the Bible into English, which had been promised when Tindal's translation was condemned, but was afterwards laid aside by the clergy, as neither necessary nor expedient. It was said, that those whose office it was to teach the people the word of God, did all they could to suppress it. Moses, the prophets, and the apostles, wrote in the vulgar tongue: Christ directed the people to search the scriptures; and as soon as any nation was converted to the Christian religion, the Bible was translated into their language; nor was it ever taken out of the hands of the people, till the Christian religion was so corrupted, that it was deemed impolitic to trust them with a book, which would so manifestly discover those errors; and the legends, as agreeing better with those abuses, were read instead of the word of God.

Cranmer thought, that putting the Bible in the people's hands would be the most effectual means for promoting the reformation; and therefore moved, that the king might be prayed to order it. But Gardiner, and all the other party, opposed this vehemently. They said, all the extravagant opinions lately broached in Germany arose from the indiscreet use of the scriptures. Some of those opinions were at this time disseminated

in England, both against the divinity and incarnation of Christ, and the usefulness of the sacraments. They therefore argued, that during these distractions the use of the scriptures would prove a great snare, and proposed, that instead of them, there might be some short exposition of the Christian religion put into the people's hands, which might keep them in a certain subjection to the king and the church. But, in spite of their arguments, the question of the translation was carried in the convocation in the affirmative.

The courtiers were much divided on this point; some said, if the king gave way to it, he would never be able after that to govern his people, and that they would break into many divisions. But on the other hand, it was maintained, that nothing would make the difference between the pope's power and the king's supremacy appear more eminently, than for the one to give the people the free use of the word of God; while the other kept them in darkness, and ruled them by a blind obedience. It would do much also in extinguishing the interest that either the pope or the monks had among the people. The Bible would teach them, that they had been long deceived by impostures, which had no foundation in the scriptures. These reasons, strengthened by the queen's representations to the king, prevailed so far with him, that he gave order for setting about this important affair with all possible haste; and within three years the impression of it was finished.

The popish party saw, with disappointment and concern, that the queen was the great obstacle to their designs. She grew not only in the king's esteem, but in the love of the nation. During the last nine months of her life she bestowed above £14,000 in alms to the poor, and seemed to delight in doing good. Soon after

Catherine's death, Anne bore a dead son, which was believed to have made an unfavourable impression on the king's mind. It was also considered, that now queen Catherine was dead, the king might marry another, and regain the friendship of the pope and the emperor, and that the issue by any other marriage would never be questioned. With these reasons of state the king's affections joined; for he was now in love (if so heartless a monster was capable of feeling love) with Jane Seymour, whose disposition was tempered between the gravity of Catherine and the gaiety of Anne. The latter used all possible arts to re-inflame his dying affection; but he was weary of her, and therefore determined on her destruction; to effect which he soon found a pretence. The day after queen Anne's execution the king married Jane Seymour, who gained more upon him than all his wives ever did; but she was fortunate that she did not outlive his love to her.

ATTEMPTS TO SUPPRESS THE BIBLE.

Great pains had been taken by the bishops to suppress the English Bible. The king refused to call it in, and they therefore complained much of the translation, which they wished to have condemned, and a new one promised, which might have been delayed during several years. Cranmer perceiving that the Bible was the great eye-sore of the popish party, and that they were resolved to oppose it by all the means they could think of, procured an order from the king, referring the correction of the translation to the two universities. The bishops took this very ill, and all of them, except those of Ely and St. David's, protested against it.

METHOD OF PREACHING.

In former times there had been few or no sermons, except in Lent; for on holy days the sermons were panegyrics on the saints, and on the virtues of their pretended relics. But in Lent there was a more solemn way of preaching; and the friars maintained their credit much by the pathetic sermons they preached in that time, and by which they wrought much on the passions of the people; yet even these for the most part tended to extol fasting, confession, and other austerities, with very little of the true simplicity of Christianity, or the Scriptures; and were designed rather to raise a sudden heat, than to work a real change in their auditors. They had also mixed so much out of the legends with their sermons, that the people at length disbelieved all they said, on account of those fabulous things with which their sermons were debased.

The reformers, on the other hand, took great care to instruct their hearers in the fundamentals of religion, of which they had known little formerly: this made the nation follow those teachers with a wonderful zeal; but some of them mixed more sharpness against the friars in their sermons, than was consistent with the mild spirit of Christianity, although the hypocrisy and cheats of their antagonists did in a great measure excuse those heats; and it was observed that our Saviour had exposed the Pharisees in so plain a manner, that it justified the treating them with some roughness. This made it seem necessary to suffer none to preach, at least out of their own parishes, without license, and many were licensed to preach as itinerants. There was also a book of homilies on all the epistles and gospels in the year, published, which contained a plain paraphrase of those

parts of scripture, together with some practical exhortations founded on them. Many complaints were made of those who were licensed to preach, and that they might be able to justify themselves, they began generally to write and read their sermons; and thus did this custom begin.

AN ACT CONCERNING RELIGION.

In 1543, a bill was proposed by Cranmer, for the advancement of true religion, which was much opposed, and those who at first joined him, afterwards forsook him; so that it was much altered for the worse in its progress. By it Tindal's translation of the Bible was condemned, and also all other books contrary to the doctrine set forth by the bishops. Bibles, of another translation, were still allowed to be kept, but all prefaces or annotations to them, were to be expunged; all the king's injunctions were confirmed; no books of religion were to be printed without license; there was to be no exposition of scripture in plays or interludes; none of the laity might read the scripture, or explain it in any public assembly; but a proviso was made for public speeches, which then began generally with a text of scripture, and were like sermons. Noblemen, gentlemen and their wives, or merchants, might have Bibles; but no ordinary woman, tradesman, apprentice, or husbandman, was allowed to retain any. Every person might have the book published by the bishops, the psalter, and other rudiments of religion, in England. All churchmen, who preached contrary to that book, for the first offence, were required to recant; for the second, to abjure and carry a fagot; but, for the third, they were to be burnt. The laity, for the third offence, were to for-

feit their goods and chattels, and to be liable to perpetual imprisonment. The parties accused were not allowed witnesses for their purgation. The act of the six articles was confirmed, and it was left free to the king, to change this act, or any proviso in it. There was also a new act passed, giving authority to the king's proclamations, and any nine privy counsellors were empowered to proceed against offenders. Against this the lord Mountjoy dissented, and it is the only instance of any nobleman having the courage to protest against the innumerable legislative iniquities of this reign.

ATTEMPTS TO RUIN CRANMER.

The chief thing now aimed at, by the whole popish party, was Cranmer's ruin. Gardiner employed many to infuse the belief into the king, that he gave the chief encouragement to heresy in England, and that it was in vain to lop off the branches, and leave the root still growing. The king, before this, would never hear the complaints that were made of him: but now, to be informed of the depth of this design, he was willing to make himself acquainted with all that was to be said against him.

Gardiner reckoned, that this point being gained, all the rest would follow, and judging that the king was now alienated from him, more instruments and artifices than ever were made use of. A long paper, containing many particulars against both Cranmer and his chaplains, was put into the king's hands. Upon this the king sent for him; and after he had complained much of the heresy in England, he said, he resolved to find out the chief promoter of it, and to make him an example.

Cranmer advised him first to consider well what heresy was, that so he might not condemn those as heretics, who maintained the true word of God against human inventions. Then the king told him frankly, that he was the man complained of, as most guilty; and showed him all the informations that he had received against him.

Cranmer avowed that he was still of the same mind as when he opposed the six articles, and submitted himself to a trial; he confessed many things to the king; in particular, that he had a wife; but he said he had sent her out of England, when the act of the six articles was passed; and expressed so great a sincerity, and put so entire confidence in the king, that, instead of being ruined, he was now better established with him than ever.

The king commanded him to appoint some persons to examine the contrivance that had been laid to destroy him; he answered, that it was not decent for him to nominate any to judge in a cause, in which himself was concerned; but the king being positive, he named some to go about it, and the whole secret was discovered. It appeared that Gardiner and Dr. London had been the chief instruments, and had encouraged informers to appear against him. Cranmer did not press the king for any reparation; for he was so noted for his readiness to forgive injuries, and to return good for evil, that it was commonly said, the best way to obtain his favour, was to do him an injury; of this he gave signal instances at this time, both in relation to the clergy and laity; by which it appeared that he was actuated by that meek and lowly spirit, which becomes all the followers of Christ, but more particularly one, who was so great an instrument in reforming the Christian religion; and did,

by such eminent acts of charity, show that he himself practised that which he taught others to do.

A parliament was now called, in which an act providing for the succession of the crown was passed. By it prince Edward and his heirs, or the heirs by the king's present marriage, were to succeed on the decease of the king; after them the lady Mary, and lady Elizabeth; and in case they had no issue, or did not observe such limitations or conditions as the king should appoint, then it was to fall to any other whom the king should name, either by his letters patent, or by his last will signed with his hand. An oath was appointed both against the pope's supremacy, and for the maintaining the succession according to this act, which all were required to take, under the pains of treason. It was made treason to say or write any thing contrary to this act, or to the slander of any of the king's heirs named in it.

Another bill was passed, qualifying the severity of the six articles; by which it was enacted that none should be imprisoned but upon a legal presentment, except upon the king's warrant. None was to be challenged for words spoken, except the accusation were brought within a year after the commission of the offence; nor for a sermon, but within forty days. This was made to prevent such conspiracies as had been discovered during the former year.

Another act was passed, renewing the authority given to thirty-two commissioners to reform the ecclesiastical law, which Cranmer promoted much; and to advance so good a purpose, he drew out of the canon law, a collection of many things against the regal, and for the papal authority, with several other very extravagant propositions, to show how improper it was, to let a book, in which such things were, continue still in any credit

in England: but he could not bring this to any good issue. A general pardon also was granted, out of which heresy was excepted.

Audley, the chancellor, dying at this time, Wriothesly, who was of the popish party, was put in his place: and Dr. Petre, Cranmer's friend, was made secretary of state: so equally did the king keep the balance between both parties. He gave orders also to translate the prayers, and litanies, into the English tongue, which gave the reformers some hopes that he had not quite cast off his design of reforming such abuses as had crept into the worship of God. And they hoped that the reasons which prevailed with the king to order this, would also induce him to order a translation of all the other offices into the English tongue.

Lee, archbishop of York, died about this time; and was succeeded by Holgate, bishop of Landaff, who, in his heart, favoured the reformation. Kitchin, who turned with every change, was made bishop of Landaff; Heath was removed from Rochester to Worcester; Holbeck was promoted to the see of Rochester; and Day to that of Chichester. All these were moderate men, and well disposed to a reformation, or at least to comply with it.

STORY AND MARTYRDOM OF ANNE ASKEW.

This lady was descended from a good family, and had received an accomplished education: she had embraced the doctrine of the reformers with zeal, and was taken into custody for her opinions, in March, 1545. She underwent several examinations touching the points of difference between the papists and the protestants; in which she answered the insidious questions of her ex-

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aminers with boldness and discretion. After remaining some time in prison, application was made by her relatives for her enlargement. The bishop of London, on this, ordered that she should be brought before him, at three o'clock the next day, attended by her friends. Her own account of this matter is so interesting, that we cannot do better than present it to our readers. After narrating what we have already mentioned, she proceeds:

“Next day in the forenoon, the bishop of London sent for me, and as I came before him, he said he was sorry for my trouble, and desired to know my opinions in such matters as were laid against me. He required me in any wise boldly to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any points, for whatever I said in his house, no man should hurt me for it. I answered, ‘As your lordship appointed three o'clock, my friends will not come till that hour; I desire you to pardon my giving answers till they arrive. Then he said that he thought it meet to send for those who were before named and appointed. I desired him not to put them to the trouble, because the two gentlemen who were my friends, were able enough to testify what I should say.

“Afterwards he went into his gallery with Mr. Spilman, and told him in any wise that he should exhort me to utter all I thought. In the mean while he commanded his archdeacon to commune with me, who said, ‘Mistress, wherefore are you accused and thus troubled here before the bishop?’ I answered, ‘Sir, ask my accusers, for I know not as yet.’ Then he took my hand, and said, ‘Such books as this have brought you to the trouble you are in. Beware,’ said he, ‘beware, for he that made this book, and was the author thereof, was a heretic and burned in Smithfield.’

“I asked him if he was certain and sure that it was true what he had spoken. He said he knew well the book was of John Frith’s making. Then I asked him if he were not ashamed to judge of the book before he saw it within, or yet knew the truth thereof. I said also, that such unadvised hasty judgment is an apparent token of a very slender wit. Then I opened the book and showed it him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault therein. Then I desired him no more to be so unadvisedly rash and swift in judgment, till he thoroughly knew the truth, and so he departed from me.

“Immediately after came my cousin Britain, with divers others, among whom was Mr. Hall of Gray’s inn. Then my lord of London persuaded my consin, as he had done often before, that I should utter the bottom of my heart in any wise. My lord said after that unto me, that he would I should credit the counsel of such as were my friends and well-wishers in this behalf, which was, that I should utter all things that burthened my conscience; for he assured me, that I should not need to stand in doubt. For as he promised them (he said) he promised me, and would perform it; namely, that neither he, nor any man for him, should take me at advantage of any word, and therefore he bade me say my mind without fear. I answered him, that I had nought to say, for my conscience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

“Then brought he forth this unsavoury similitude: ‘that if a man had a wound, no wise surgeon would minister help unto it before he had seen it uncovered. In like case,’ saith he, ‘can I give you no good counsel, unless I know wherewith your conscience is burdened.’

‘My conscience,’ said I, ‘is clean in all things, and to lay a plaster unto the whole skin would appear much folly.’

“‘Then you drive me,’ saith he, ‘to lay to your charge your own report, which is this—You did say, he that doth receive the sacrament by the hands of an ill priest, or a sinner, receiveth the devil, and not God.’ I answered, ‘That I never spake such words: but, as I said before, that the wickedness of the priest did not hurt me, but in spirit and faith I received no less than the body and blood of Christ.’ ‘What saying is this in spirit?’ demanded he, ‘I will not take you at the advantage.’ Then answered I, ‘My lord, without faith and spirit, I cannot receive him worthily.’

“Then he said that I had affirmed, ‘That the sacrament remaining in the pix was but bread.’ I answered, ‘That I never said so.’ But indeed the quest had asked a question, whereunto I would not reply till they had answered my question, ‘Wherefore Stephen was stoned to death?’

“Then my lord said, ‘That I had alleged a certain text of the scripture.’ I answered, ‘That I alleged none other but St. Paul’s own saying to the Athenians, in the 18th chapter of the Acts, That God dwelleth not in temples made with hands.’ Then he asked me, ‘What my faith and belief was in that matter?’ I answered him, ‘I believe as the scripture doth teach me.’

“Then inquired he of me, ‘What if the scripture doth say, that it is the body of Christ?’ ‘I believe,’ said I, ‘as the scripture doth teach.’ Then he asked again, ‘What if the scripture doth say that it is not the body of Christ?’ My answer was still, ‘I believe as the scripture informeth me.’ And upon this argument he tarried a great while, to have driven me to make him an

answer to his mind. Howbeit I would not, but concluded this with him, 'That I believe therein, and in all other things, as Christ and his apostles did leave them.'

"Then he asked me, 'Why I had so few words?' and I answered, 'God hath given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance; and Soloman saith, A woman of few words is the gift of God.'

"He next laid to my charge, that I had said that the mass was superstitious, wicked, and no better than idolatry.' I answered him, 'that I had said not so. Howbeit the quest asked me, Whether private mass did relieve departed souls? Unto whom I had answered, O Lord, what idolatry is this, that we should rather believe in private masses, than in the death of the dear Son of God!' Then said my lord again, 'What an answer is that?' 'Though it be but mean,' said I, 'yet is it good enough for the question; and there is a priest,' said I, 'who was present before the mayor.'

"The chancellor then asked the priest, who said, 'She spake it in very deed, before my lord mayor and myself.'

"Then were there certain priests, as Dr. Standish and others, which tempted me much to know my mind. I answered them always thus:—'What I said to my lord of London, I have said.' Then Dr. Standish desired my lord to bid me speak my mind concerning the text of St. Paul's learning, that I being a woman should interpret the scriptures, especially where so many wise and learned men were.

"My lord of London then said, 'He was informed that one had asked me if I would receive the sacrament at Easter, and I made a mock of it.'

"I desired that my accuser might come forth, which

he would not allow. But he said again unto me, 'I sent one to give you good counsel, and at the first word you called him Papist.' That I denied not, for I perceived he was no less, yet I made him no answer to it.

"Then he rebuked me, and said that 'I had reported that there were sent against me threescore priests at Lincoln.' 'Indeed,' quoth I, 'I said so; for my friends told me, if I did come to Lincoln, the priests would assault me, and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made their boast; and when I heard it I went thither, indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. Moreover I remained there nine days, to see what would be said to me; and as I was in the Minster, reading upon the Bible, they resorted unto me by two and two, by five and by six, minding to have spoken unto me; yet went they their ways again without once speaking.'

"He next asked me, 'If there were not one who had spoke to me?' I told him, 'Yes, that there was one of them at the last which did speak indeed, but that his words were of small effect, so that I did not now remember them.' Then, said my lord, 'there are many that read and know the scripture, and yet follow it not, nor live thereafter.' I said again, 'My lord, I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure myself this hour that there are none able to prove any dishonesty against me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth.' Then my lord went away, and said he would entitle some of my meaning in writing; but what it was, I have not in my memory, for he would not suffer me to have the copy thereof, only I remember this small portion of it.

"Be it known of all men, that I, Anne Askew, do

confess this to be my faith and belief, notwithstanding many reports made afore to the contrary. I believe that they which are houseled at the hands of a priest, whether his conversation be good or not, do receive the body and blood of Christ in substance really. Also I do believe, that after the consecration, whether it be received or reserved, it is no less than the very body and blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I do believe in this and in all other sacraments of holy church in all points, according to the Catholic faith of the same. In witness whereof, I, the said Anne, have subscribed my name.'

"There was somewhat more in it, which because I had not the copy, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me, and asked me 'if I did agree to it.' And I said again, 'I believe so much thereof, as the Holy Scripture doth agree unto; wherefore I desire you, that you will add that thereunto.' Then he answered, 'That I should not teach him what he should write.' With that he went forth into his great chamber, and read the same bill before the audience, which inveigled and willed me to set to my hand, saying also, 'that I had favour showed me.' Then the bishop said, 'I might thank others, and not myself, for the favour I found at his hand; for he considered,' he said, 'that I had good friends, and that I came of a good family.'

"Christopher, a servant to Mr. Denny, said to his lordship, 'Rather ought you, my lord, to have done it in such case for God's sake, than for man's.' Then my lord sat down, and took me the writing to set thereto my hand, and I wrote after this manner:—'I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the Catholic church.'

"Then because I did add unto it 'the Catholic church,'

he flung into his chamber in a great fury. With that my cousin Britain followed, desiring him for God's sake to be a lord unto me. He answered, that 'I was a woman, and that he was nothing deceived in me.' Then my cousin Britain desired him to take me as a woman, and not set my weak woman's wit to his lordship's great wisdom.

"Then went in unto him Dr. Weston, and said, 'That the cause why I did write there *the Catholic church*, was, that I understood not the church written afore.' So, with much ado, they persuaded my lord to come out again, and to take my name, with the names of my sureties, which were my cousin Britain and master Spilman of Gray's inn.

"This being done, we thought that I should have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of the law. Howbeit he would not suffer it, but committed me from thence to prison again until the morrow, and then he willed me to appear in the Guildhall, and so I did. Notwithstanding they would not put me to bail there neither, but read the bishop's writing unto me, as before, and commanded me again to prison. Then were my sureties appointed to come before them on the next morrow in Paul's church, who did so indeed. Notwithstanding, they would once again have broken off with them, because they would not be bound also for another woman at their pleasure, whom they knew not, nor yet what matter was laid unto her charge. Notwithstanding at the last, after much ado and reasoning to and fro, they took a bond of them of recognisance for my forthcoming: and thus I was at the last delivered.

"Written by me Anne Askew."

Thus ended her first persecution, from which, for a time, she escaped, but not conforming to their erroneous

doctrine of the sacrament, she was, in 1546, again apprehended; of which, before her martyrdom, she wrote the following account to some of her friends.

**"THE SUM OF MY EXAMINATION BEFORE THE KING'S
COUNCIL AT GREENWICH.**

"Your request as concerning my prison-fellows I am not able to satisfy, because I heard not their examinations. But the effect of mine was this. I being before the council, was asked of Mr. Kyme. I answered, that my lord chancellor knew already my mind in that matter. They with that answer were not contented, but said it was the king's pleasure that I should open the matter unto them. I answered them plainly, I would not do so; but if it were the king's pleasure to hear me, I would show him the truth. Then they said it was not meet for the king to be troubled with me. I answered, that 'Solomon was reckoned the wisest king that ever lived, yet misliked he not to hear two poor common women, much more his grace a simple woman and his faithful subject.' So in conclusion, I made them none other answer in that matter.

"Then my lord chancellor asked of me my opinion in the sacrament. My answer was this, 'I believe that so oft as I in a Christian congregation do receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I receive therewith the fruits also of his most glorious passion.' The bishop of Winchester bade me make a direct answer: I said 'I would not sing a new song of the Lord in a strange land.' Then the bishop said 'I spake in parables.' I answered, 'It was best for him; for if I show

the open truth,' quoth I, 'ye will not accept it.' Then he said I was a parrot. I told him again, 'I was ready to suffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that should follow besides, yea, and all that gladly.'

"Then had I divers rebukes of the council, because I would not express my mind in all things as they would have me. But they were not in the mean time unanswered for all that, which now to rehearse were too much, for I was with them about five hours. Then the clerk of the council conveyed me from thence to my lady Garnish.

"The next day I was brought again before the council, which would needs know what I said to the sacrament. I answered, 'That I had already said what I could say.' Then after many words they bid me go aside; then came lord Lisle, lord Essex, and the bishop of Winchester, requiring me earnestly 'that I should confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone.' I told these noblemen that it was a great shame for them to counsel contrary to their knowledge: whereunto in few words they said, 'That they would gladly all things were well.'

"The bishop said, 'He would speak with me familiarly;' I said, 'So did Judas, when he betrayed Christ.' Then he desired to speak with me alone; but that I refused. He asked me why; I said, 'That in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand after Christ's and Paul's doctrine.' Matt. xviii. 2 Cor. xiii.

"Then my lord chancellor began to examine me again on the sacrament. I asked him, 'How long he would halt on both.' He asked where I found that; I said, 'In the scripture. 1 Kings, xviii. 21.' Then he went his way. The bishop said, 'I should be burnt.' I

answered, 'That I had searched all the scriptures, yet could I never find that either Christ or his apostles put any creature to death. Well, well,' said I, 'God will laugh your threatenings to scorn.' Then was I commanded to stand aside; after which came Dr. Cox and Dr. Robinson. In conclusion we could not agree.

"They then drew out a confession respecting the sacrament, urging me to set my hand thereunto; but this I refused. On the following Sunday I was so extremely ill, that I thought death was upon me, upon which I desired to see Mr. Latimer, but this was not granted. In the height of my illness I was conveyed to Newgate, where the Lord was pleased to renew my strength.

"THE SUM OF MY CONDEMNATION AT GUILDHALL.

"They said to me there, 'that I was a heretic, and condemned by the law, if I would stand in mine opinion.' I answered, 'That I was no heretic, neither yet deserved I any death by the law of God. But as concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the council, I would not deny it, because I knew it true.' Then would they needs know if I would deny the sacrament to be Christ's body and blood. I said, 'Yea; for the same Son of God, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day like as he went up—Acts i. And as for that ye call your God, it is a piece of bread. For a more proof thereof, mark it when you list, let it but lie in the box three months, and it will be mouldy, and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am persuaded that it cannot be God.'

“After that they willed me to have a priest; at this I smiled. Then they asked me if it were not good; I said, ‘I would confess my faults unto God, for I was sure he would hear me with favour.’ And so we were condemned.

“My belief, which I wrote to the council, was this, that the sacramental bread was left us to be received with thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christ’s death, the only remedy of our souls’ recovery; and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious passion. ‘Then would they know whether the bread in the box were God or no: I said, ‘God is a spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth.’ John iv. Then they demanded, ‘Will you plainly deny Christ to be in the sacrament?’ I answered, ‘that I believe faithfully the eternal Son of God not to dwell there;’ in witness whereof I recited the 19th chapter of Daniel, the 7th and 17th of the Acts, and the 24th of Matthew, concluding thus,—‘I neither wish death, nor yet fear his might; God have the praise thereof with thanks.’

“MY FAITH BRIEFLY WRITTEN TO THE KING’S GRACE,
AND SENT BY THE HANDS OF THE CHANCELLOR.

“I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although God hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known unto your grace, that forasmuch as I am by the law condemned for an evil doer, here I take heaven and earth to record, that I shall die in my innocency; and according to that I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all heresies. And as concerning the supper of the Lord, I believe so much

as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood; I believe so much as he willed me to follow; and believe so much as the Catholic church of him doth teach. For I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips. But look what God hath charged me with his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus briefly I end, for lack of learning.

ANNE ASKEW.

“MY EXAMINATION AND TREATMENT AFTER MY DEPARTURE FROM NEWGATE.

“On Tuesday I was sent from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, where Mr. Rich, and the bishop of London, with all their power and flattering words, went about to persuade me from God; but I did not esteem their glossing pretences.

“Then came to me Nicholas Shaxton, and counselled me to recant, as he had done. I said to him, ‘That it had been good for him never to have been born;’ with many other like words.

“Then Mr. Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remained till three o’clock, when Rich came, and one of the council, charging me upon my obedience to show unto them if I knew any man or woman of my sect. My answer was, ‘That I knew none.’ Then they asked me of lady Suffolk, lady Sussex, lady Hertford, lady Denny, and lady Fitzwilliams. To whom I answered, ‘If I should pronounce any thing against them, that I were not able to prove it.’ Then said they unto me, ‘That the king was informed that I could name, if I would, a great number of my sect.’ I answered, ‘That

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the king was as well deceived in that behalf, as he was dissembled with by them in other matters.

"Then they commanded me to show how I was maintained in the Compter, and who willed me to stick to my opinion. I said, 'that there was no creature that therein did strengthen me. And as for the help that I had in the Compter, it was by the means of my maid. For as she went abroad in the streets, she told my case to the apprentices,* and they by her did send me money; but who they were I never knew.

"Then they said, 'That there were several ladies that had sent me money.' I answered, 'That there was a man in a blue coat who delivered me ten shillings, and said that my lady of Hertford sent it me: and another in a violet coat gave me eight shillings, and said my lady Denny sent it me. Whether it were true or no I cannot tell; for I am not sure who sent it me, but as the maid did say.' Then they said, 'There were some of the council who maintained me.' I said, 'No.'

"Then did they put me on the rack, because I confessed no ladies or gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time, and because I lay still and did not cry, my lord chancellor and Mr. Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was nigh dead.

* How gratifying is it to find these young men assisting this afflicted saint in prison! How worthy of imitation is their conduct! For although, happily, there is not now the same occasion for the exercise of their charity, there are innumerable ways in which they may administer comfort to the distressed among God's people; and they should always remember that they are exhorted by the apostle to "do good unto all men, but especially unto them who are of the household of faith." Gal. vi. 10.

"The lieutenant then caused me to be loosed from the rack, when I immediately swooned, and they recovered me again. After that I sat two hours reasoning with my lord chancellor upon the bare floor, where he with many flattering words persuaded me to leave my opinion; but my Lord God, I thank his everlasting goodness, gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

"Then was I brought to a house and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job, I thank my Lord God therefore. Then my lord chancellor sent me word, if I would leave my opinion I should want for nothing; if I would not, I should forthwith to Newgate, and so be burned. I sent him again word, that I would rather die than break my faith.

"Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell, dear friend, and pray, pray, pray."

Her racking in the Tower, mentioned above, is thus described. She was led down into a dungeon, where Sir Anthony Knevet, the lieutenant, commanded his gaffers to pinch her with the rack; which being done, as much as he thought sufficient, he was about to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But Wriothesley, the chancellor, not contented that she should be loosed so soon, having confessed nothing, commanded the lieutenant to strain her on the rack again, which because he denied to do, he was threatened by the chancellor, "That he would signify his disobedience to the king;" but remaining unmoved by their threats, Wriothesley and Rich, throwing off their gowns, would needs play the tormentors themselves, first asking her "If she were with child?" to which she answered, "Ye shall not need to spare for that, but do your wills upon

me;" and so quietly and patiently praying unto the Lord, she sustained their cruelty, till her bones and joints were almost torn asunder, so that she was obliged to be carried away in a chair. When the racking was past, the chancellor and Mr. Rich rode off to the court.

In the mean time, while they were making their way by land, the good lieutenant, taking boat, hastened to the court to speak with the king before the others, which he did; and desiring his pardon, told him the whole matter respecting the racking of Mrs. Askew, and the threats of the lord chancellor, "because at his commandment, not knowing his highness' pleasure, he refused to rack her, which he for compassion could not find in his heart to do, and therefore desired his highness' pardon;" which when the king had heard, he seemed not much to approve their severity; and granted the lieutenant his pardon.

While Mrs. Askew was confined in Newgate, she made the following confession of her faith. "I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, do confess myself here a sinner before the throne of his heavenly majesty, desiring his forgiveness and mercy. And for so much as I am by the law unrighteously condemned for an evil doer, concerning opinions, I take the same most merciful God of mine, which hath made both heaven and earth, to record that I hold no opinions contrary to his most holy word; and I trust in my merciful Lord, which is the giver of all grace, that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinions which are contrary to his blessed verity; for I take him to witness that I have done, and will, unto my life's end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my power.

"But this is the heresy which they report me to hold, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth bread still. They both say, and also teach it for a necessary article of faith, that after these words be once spoken, there remaineth no bread, but even the self-same body that hung upon the cross on Good Friday, both flesh, blood, and bone. To this belief of their's say I, Nay. For then were our common creed false, which saith, that he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Lo, this is the heresy that I hold, and for it must suffer the death. But as touching the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary remembrance of his glorious sufferings and death. Moreover I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Redeemer Jesus Christ would I should believe.

"Finally, I believe all those scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his most precious blood; yea, and as St. Paul saith, those scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with us; so that, I believe, we need no unwritten verities to rule his church with. Therefore look what he hath said unto me with his own mouth in his holy gospel, that I have with God's grace closed up in my heart, and my full trust is (as David saith) that it shall be a lantern to my footsteps, Psalm xxviii.

"There be some that say I deny the eucharist, or sacrament of thanksgiving; but those people untruly report of me; for I both say and believe it, that if it were ordered as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning the mass as it is now used in our days, I say and believe it to be the most abominable idol that is in the world. For my

God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again; and upon these words that I have now spoken, will I suffer death.

"O LORD! I have more enemies now than there be hairs on my head; yet, Lord! let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight thou, Lord! in my stead, for on thee cast I my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, who am thy poor creature. Yet, sweet Lord! let me not set by them which are against me, for in thee is my whole delight; and, Lord! I heartily desire of thee, that thou wilt of thy most merciful goodness forgive them that violence which they do, and have done unto me. Open also thou their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight, which is only acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy verity aright, without all vain fantasy of sinful men. So be it, O Lord! so be it.

"ANNE ASKEW."

We have thought it advisable to give so much of this lady's own writings, as they afford very strong evidence of her faith, and zeal for the cause of truth. To this sacred cause she was now about to give the last and highest proof of her attachment, by yielding up her life at the stake, as a token of her devotion to the pure religion of Jesus, and her abhorrence of the devices and inventions of the papists.

On the day appointed for her execution, she was brought to Smithfield in a chair, being unable to walk, from the effects of the tortures which she had undergone. When she arrived at the stake, she was fastened to it by a chain round her body. Three other persons were brought to suffer with her, for the same offence. These

were, Nicholas Belenian, a priest of Shropshire; John Adams, a tailor; and John Lacels, a gentleman of the king's household.

The martyrs being all chained to the stake, Dr. Shaxton, who was appointed to preach, began his sermon; and as he proceeded, Anne Askew, with undiminished spirit, either confirmed or contradicted him, according to the truth or falsehood of his quotations and inferences.

The sermon being concluded, the martyrs began their prayers. The concourse of spectators was immense, and on a bench near the stake sat the lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Bedford, the lord mayor, and other persons of consideration. The chancellor sent to Anne Askew letters, offering to her the king's pardon if she would recant; but she, refusing even to look upon them, made this answer, "That she came not thither to deny her Lord and Master." Then the letters were likewise offered to the others, who imitating the constancy of the woman, refused not only to receive them, but also to look upon them, and continued to cheer and exhort each other to be firm to the end of their sufferings, and so to deserve the glory they were about to enter; whereupon the lord mayor, commanding fire to be put to them, cried, with a loud voice, "*fiat justitia.*"

And thus these blessed martyrs were compassed in with flames of fire, and offered up as sacrifices unto God.

DESIGNS AGAINST CRANMER.

These events were so many triumphs to the popish party, who, stimulated by fresh hopes, sought to com-

plete their victory by effecting the ruin of Cranmer and the queen, whom they considered the greatest obstacles to their success. They persuaded the king that Cranmer was the source of all the heresies in England; but Henry's esteem for him was such, that no one would appear to give evidence against him; they therefore desired that he might be committed to the Tower, and then it would appear how many would inform against him.

The king seemed to approve this plan, and they resolved to execute it the next day: but in the night Henry sent for Cranmer, and told him what was resolved concerning him. Cranmer thanked the king for giving him notice of it, and submitted to it, only desiring that he might be heard in answer for himself; and that he might have impartial judges, competent to decide. Henry was surprised to see him so little concerned in his own preservation: but told him, since he took so little care of himself, that he must take care of him. He therefore gave him instructions to appear before the council, and to desire to see his accusers before he should be sent to the Tower; and that he might be used by them, as they would desire to be used in a similar case; and, if he could not prevail by the force of reason, then he was to appeal to the king in person, and was to show the royal seal ring, which he took from his finger, and gave him, which they would know so well that they would do nothing after they once saw it.

Accordingly, on being summoned next morning, he came over to Whitehall; there he was detained, with great insolence, in the lobby of the council chamber before he was called in; but when that was done, and he had acted as the king had ordered him, and at last showed the ring, his enemies rose in great confusion,

and went to the king. He upbraided them severely for what they had done, and expressed his esteem and kindness for Cranmer, in such terms, that they were glad to get off, by pretending that they had no other design but that of having his innocence declared by a public trial. From this vain attempt they were so convinced of the king's unalterable favour to him, that they forebore any further design against him.

We shall conclude our account of the persecutions under Henry VIII. with the story and martyrdom of William Tindall, who, although he did not suffer in England, ought to be ranked with the martyrs of our country, of which, from his great zeal and perseverance in the dispersion of truth, he may properly be esteemed the apostle.

LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF WILLIAM TINDALL.

William Tindall was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up, from a child, in the university of Oxford, where, by long continuance, he grew up, and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues and other liberal arts, as in the knowledge of the scriptures, to the study of which he was much addicted, insomuch, that being then in Magdalen-hall, he read privately to some of the students and fellows of Magdalen college, in divinity; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the scriptures; and all that knew him reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and of unspotted life.

Having remained some time at Oxford, he removed to the university of Cambridge, where, having made

great progress in his studies, he quitted that place, and going to Gloucestershire, engaged himself to a knight named Welch, as tutor to his children. To this gentleman's hospitable table used to resort several abbots, deans, and other beneficed clergymen, with whom Tindall used to converse on the subjects which at that time principally occupied the attention of all persons—viz. divinity and the scriptures.

Tindall, being learned and well acquainted with the sacred writings, would at first simply avow his opinions, and if those with whom he discoursed objected to his reasonings, he would show them the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest language of the scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus they continued for a time, reasoning and contending together, till at length his opponents became envious, and bore a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

Not long after this, it happened that some of these doctors invited Mr. Welch and his wife to a banquet, where they spoke to them without the fear of contradiction, uttering their blindness and ignorance. Then Welch and his wife coming home, and calling for Mr. Tindall, began to reason with him about these matters: when Tindall, as usual, answered by scriptures, maintained the truth, and reprov'd their false opinions. Then said the lady Welch, a worldly-wise woman, "Well, there was such a doctor, which may spend a hundred, another two hundred, and another three hundred pounds: and were it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?" Tindall gave no answer to this display of purse-proud ignorance at that time, and after that, as he saw it would not much avail, he talked but little of those matters. At that time he

was about the translation of a book called *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, which being finished, he delivered to Mr. Welch and his lady: and after they had well perused the same, they were awakened, in some measure; and the prelates and abbots were not so often invited to their house, neither were they so heartily welcomed when they came, as before; which they perceiving, and concluding that it came by the means of Tindall, at last entirely absented themselves from the house.

Upon this, the priests of the country concerting together, began to rail against Tindall, in alehouses and other places. Tindall himself, in his prologue before the first book of Moses, thus mentions their ill-treatment of him. "I suffered much," says he, "in that country by a sort of unlearned priests, being rude and ignorant, God knoweth; which have seen no more Latin than that only which they read in their portresses and missals; which yet many of them can scarcely read, except it be *Albertus de secretis mulierum*, in which yet, though they be never so sorrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they say; and also another called Linwood, a book of constitutions to gather tithes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but God's part, the duty of holy-church, to discharge their consciences withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertain to holy-church."

But these blind priests did not only revile him; but, by perverting what he really said, and adding many false and malicious lies of their own, made out a charge of heresy against him, on which he was accused, and summoned before the bishop's chancellor.

When he appeared before the chancellor, that officer "threatened him grievously, reviling and rating at him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things whereof no accuser yet could be brought forth, notwithstanding that the priests of the country were there present." As they were unable to substantiate their charges, Tindall returned home again.

Not long after, Tindall happened to be in company with a certain divine, who was accounted a learned man, and in disputing with him, the doctor, overcome by passion, burst out with these blasphemous words, "We were better to be without God's laws than the pope's." Mr. Tindall hearing this, full of godly zeal, and shocked by that blasphemous saying, replied, "I defy the pope, and all his laws;" and added, "If God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the scripture than you do."

After this, the grudge of the priests increasing more and more against Tindall, they never ceased railing at him, and laid many things to his charge, saying, "That he was a heretic in sophistry, in logic, and in divinity;" and, "That, although he conducted himself boldly to the gentleman in that country, shortly he should be otherwise talked withal." To whom Tindall replied, "That he was contented they should bring him into any country in England, giving him ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more, but to teach children, and to preach."

In short, being constantly molested and vexed by the priests, he was constrained to leave that part of the country, and to seek another residence; and so coming to Mr. Welch, he requested his permission to depart, saying, "Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this country, neither shall you be

able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spirituality; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth, for the which I should be sorry." He accordingly departed, and came up to London, and there preached awhile. At length, recollecting the great commendations bestowed by Erasmus on Tonstall, then bishop of London, he thought that it might be very advantageous for him, if he could obtain a situation in his service. He accordingly waited on Sir Henry Gilford, the king's comptroller, and bringing with him an oration of Isocrates, which he had translated out of Greek into English, he desired him to speak to the bishop for him; which he did; and desired Tindall to write to Tonstall, who accordingly did so, and delivered his epistle to a servant. But God, who secretly disposes all things, saw that was not the best for Tindall's purpose, nor for the profit of his church, and therefore allowed him not to find favour in the bishop's sight, who said, "That his house was full; he had more than he could well maintain; and advised him to seek elsewhere in London; where," he said, "he could lack no service."

Tindall, therefore, remained in London almost a year, during which time he remarked the demeanour of the preachers, how they boasted of themselves, and set up their authority and kingdom; also the pomp of the prelates, with many other things which greatly vexed him, and plainly convinced him, that England was no place for him to translate the New Testament. Having, therefore, obtained some assistance from his friend Humfry Munmouth, and other good men, he departed to Germany; where, being inflamed with zeal for his country, he studied, by all possible means, to bring his countrymen to the same understanding of God's holy

word and verity, as he himself, by God's blessing, enjoyed.

He perceived, that the principal cause of the people's blindness, and of the gross errors of the church, with all their evils, was the scriptures being concealed in an unknown tongue, by which the truth was kept out of sight, and the corruptions of the priests remained undetected; and therefore all the labour of these men was to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle those who rebuked or despised their abominations, worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom, and by wresting the scripture to their own purpose, contrary to the meaning of the text, would so delude and amaze the unlearned people, that though they were sure that all were false, yet could they not solve those subtle riddles.

By these and such other considerations this good man was moved and stirred up of God, to translate the scripture into his mother tongue, for the utility and profit of the simple people of the country. He began with the New Testament, which he translated about the year 1527. After that he took in hand the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, with learned and godly prefaces to every book, as he had also done upon the New Testament.

He also wrote various other works, amongst which was, "The Obedience of a Christian man," wherein with singular dexterity he instructed all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience; another treatise was entitled, "The wicked Mammon, the practice of Prelates;" with expositions upon certain parts of scrip;

ture, and other books, in answer to Sir Thomas More, and other adversaries of the truth.

His books being published, and sent over to England, it cannot be imagined, what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole nation, which before had been during several centuries shut up in darkness.

At his first departure, he had journeyed into Saxony, where he had a conference with Luther, and other learned men; and after making a short stay there, he went into the Netherlands, and resided mostly in the town of Antwerp.

An unfortunate accident occasioned a considerable delay in the publication of his Old Testament. Having finished the five books of Moses, he set sail to Hamburgh, with the intention of printing them there. But, on his voyage, he was shipwrecked, and lost all his manuscripts, with almost all he possessed. He, however, in another vessel, pursued his voyage, and arriving at Hamburgh, Mr. Coverdale helped him in the re-translating what had been lost, which occupied them from Easter till December, 1529, in the house of a Miss Margaret Van Emmerson. Having despatched his business, he returned to Antwerp.

When the New Testament was ready for publication, Tindall added at the end, a letter, wherein he desired the learned to amend whatever they found in it amiss. But the bishops and other clergy, not willing to have that book to prosper, cried out against it, asserting that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly suppressed. Some said it was not possible to translate the scripture into English; others, that it was not lawful for the laity to have it in their mother tongue, as it would make them all heretics. And to induce the temporal rulers to assist them in their

purpose, they said that it would make the people rebel and raise against the king.

The bishops and prelates of the realm, thus incensed and inflamed in their minds, and conspiring together, how to suppress the cause of their alarm, never rested, till they had brought the king at last to issue a proclamation ordaining that the Testament of Tindall's translation, with his other works, and those of other reformed writers, should be suppressed and burnt. This was about the year 1527. But, not contented with this, the blood-thirsty crew proceeded further, and strove to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life.

Whenever the bishops or Sir Thomas More had any poor man under examination before them, who had been at Antwerp, they most studiously would search and examine into every thing relating to Tindall; as, where and with whom he lodged; what was his stature; in what apparel he went; what company he kept, &c.; and when they had made themselves acquainted with all these things, they then began their work of darkness.

Tindall being in the town of Antwerp, had lodged, about a year, in the house of Thomas Pointz, an Englishman, who kept there a house for English merchants, when Henry Philips, in appearance a gentleman, and having a servant with him, arrived there; but wherefore he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

Tindall was frequently invited to dinner and supper amongst merchants, by which means, this Henry Philips became acquainted with him; so that in a short time Tindall conceived a great friendship and confidence for him, brought him to his lodging in the house of Pointz, and had him also once or twice to dinner and supper, and further entered into such friendship with him, that

he brought him to lodge in the house of Pointz. He also showed him his books and papers; so little did he then mistrust this traitor.

But Pointz having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Tindall how he came acquainted with him. Tindall answered, that he was an honest man, tolerably learned, and very agreeable. Then Pointz, perceiving that he was so partial to him, said no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his.

Philips being in the town three or four days, desired Pointz to walk out with him; and in walking together without the town, they conversed on various subjects, and on some of the king's affairs; by which talk Pointz as yet suspected nothing, but, by the sequel, he perceived what had been intended. In the mean time he learned, that he bore no great good will to the reformation, or to the proceedings of the king of England, and perceived about him a deal of mystery and a sort of courting him to make him subservient to his designs, by the hopes of rewards, he always appearing very full of money. But Pointz kept at a distance.

Philips, finding that he could not bring him over to his designs, went from Antwerp to the court of Brussels; and, although the king had then no ambassador there, being at variance with the emperor, this traitor contrived to bring from thence, with him to Antwerp, the procurator-general, (the emperor's attorney,) with other officers; which was done at great expense.

A short time after, Pointz sitting at his door, Philip's servant came to him, and asking whether Mr. Tindall were there, said, his master would come to him, and so departed. But whether Philips were then in the town

or not, was not known; for at that time Pointz saw no more either of the master or of the man.

Within three or four days after, Pointz went on business to the town of Barrow, eighteen English miles from Antwerp, and in the time of his absence, Philips came again to the house of Pointz, and coming in, asked Mrs. Pointz for Mr. Tindall, and whether he would dine there with him, saying, "What good meat shall we have?" She answered, "Such as the market will give." Then he went out again, and set the officers which he brought with him from Brussels, in the street, and about the door. About noon he returned, and went to Mr. Tindall, and desired him to lend him forty shillings; "for," said he, "I lost my purse this morning, coming over at the passage between this and Mechlin." So Tindall gave him forty shillings, being very easily imposed upon, and entirely unskilled in the wiles and subtleties of this world.

Philips then said, "Mr. Tindall, you shall be my guest here to-day." "No," said Tindall, "I am engaged this day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome." So when it was dinner time, they went.

At the going out of Pointz's house, was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in front. Tindall would have put Philips before him, but Philips would not go, but insisted on Tindall's going before. So Tindall, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips, a tall, comely person, followed him; and having set officers on each side of the door on coming through, Philips pointed with his finger over Tindall's head down to him, that the officers might see that it was he whom they should take, as they afterwards told Pointz, and

said, that when they had laid him in prison, "they pitied his simplicity when they took him." They accordingly seized him, and brought him to the emperor's procurator-general, where he dined. Then came the procurator-general to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of Mr. Tindall's, as well his books as other things, and from thence Tindall was conveyed to the castle of Filford, eighteen miles from Antwerp, where he remained until he was put to death.

Some English merchants hearing of his apprehension, sent letters in his favour to the court of Brussels. Also, not long after, letters were sent from England to the council at Brussels, and to the merchant adventurers at Antwerp, commanding them to see that those for the council were instantly delivered. Then such of the chief of the merchants as were there at that time, being called together, required Pointz to deliver those letters, with letters also from them in favour of Tindall, to the lord of Barrow and others.

The lord of Barrow at that time had departed from Brussels, as the chief conductor of the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark, to be married to the palsgrave, whose mother was sister to the emperor. Pointz, when he heard of his departure, rode after and overtook him at Achon, where he delivered to him his letters; to which he made no direct answer, but somewhat objecting, said, "There were some of his countrymen who had been burned in England not long before;" as indeed there were anabaptists burned in Smithfield, which Pointz acknowledged. "Howbeit," said he, "whatsoever the crime was, if your lordship or any other nobleman had written, requiring to have had them, I think they should not have been denied." "Well," said he, "I

have no leisure to write, for the princess is ready to ride."

Then said Pointz, "If it please your lordship, I will attend upon you unto the next baiting place," which was at Maestricht. "If you will," replied he, "I will advise myself by the way what to write." Upon this, Pointz followed him from Achon to Maestricht, fifteen English miles, and there he received letters of him, one to the council at Brussels, another to the company of the merchant adventurers, and a third to the lord Cromwell in England.

Pointz then rode to Brussels, and there delivered to the council the letters from England, with the lord of Barrow's letters also, and received answers for England, which he brought to Antwerp to the English merchants, who required him to carry them into England. He, very desirous to have Mr. Tindall out of prison, forbore no pains, nor regarded the loss of time in his own business, but immediately sailed with the letters, which he delivered to the council, and was commanded by them to wait until he had answers, which was not till a month after. At length receiving them, he returned again, and delivered them to the emperor's council at Brussels, and there waited for their answer.

When he had remained there three or four days, he was told by a person who belonged to the chancery, that Tindall should have been delivered to him according to the tenor of the letters; but Philips being there, followed the suit against Tindall, and hearing that he was to be delivered to Pointz, and doubting lest he should thus lose his victim, determined to accuse Pointz also, saying, "That he was a dweller in the town of Antwerp, and there had been a succourer of Tindall, and was one

of the same opinion; and that all this was only his own labour and suit, to have Tindall at liberty, and no man else."

Thus, upon his information and accusation, Pointz was attached by the procurator-general, delivered to the custody of two serjeants at arms; and the same evening was examined by a person belonging to the chancery, with the procurator-general, who put him to his oath, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be inquired of him. The next day likewise they came again, and further examined him; and so five or six days one after another, upon more than a hundred articles, as well of the king's affairs, as of the messages concerning Tindall, of his aiders, and of his religion. Out of which examinations, the procurator-general drew up twenty-three or twenty-four articles against Pointz, the copy whereof he delivered to him to make answer to, and permitted him to have an advocate and proctor; and it was ordered that eight days after he should deliver to them his answer; also that he should send no messenger to Antwerp, nor to any other place, but by the post of the town of Brussels; nor send any letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but such as were written in Dutch, and the procurator-general, who was party against him, was to peruse and examine them thoroughly, contrary to all right and equity, before they were sent or delivered: neither was any person suffered to speak or talk with him in any other tongue or language, except the Dutch, so that his keepers, who were Dutchmen, might understand what was said. After this, Pointz delivered his answer to the procurator-general, and afterwards, at intervals of eight days each, replications and answers were made by both parties.

When the commissioners came to Pointz, the traitor

Philips* accompanied them to the door, as following the process against him: as he also did against Tindall.

Thus Pointz was exposed to much trouble and suffering, on account of his generous exertions in favour of Tindall. He was long kept in prison; but at length, when he saw no other remedy, by night he made his escape. But the pious Tindall could not so escape, but remained during a year and a half in prison; and then being brought to his trial, was offered to have an advocate and a proctor. But he refused the offer, saying, "That he would answer for himself;" and so he did.

At last, after much reasoning, where all reason was disregarded, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburgh, and brought to the place of execution, where he was tied to the stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterwards consumed with fire in the town of Filford, A. D. 1536; crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes."

Such was the power of the doctrine, and sincerity of the life of this amiable man, and glorious martyr, that during his imprisonment, he converted the keeper, his daughter, and others of his household. Also all that were conversant with him in the castle acknowledged that "if he were not a good Christian, they could not tell whom to trust."

Even the procurator-general left this testimony of him, that "he was a learned, an excellent, and a godly man."

* It is said that Philips, who betrayed Tindall and Pointz, died of a loathsome disease, being consumed by vermin, who preyed upon his living carcass.

To enumerate the virtues and actions of this blessed martyr, would require much time, and many pages. Suffice to say, that he was one of those who by his works shone as a sun of light amidst a dark world, and gave evidence, that he was a faithful servant of his Master and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

SECTION IV.

PERSECUTIONS IN SCOTLAND, DURING THE FIFTEENTH AND PART OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Having brought our account of the sufferings and martyrdoms of the English reformers down to the death of Henry the Eighth, we shall now proceed to relate the cruel persecutions of God's faithful servants in Scotland, to the same period; but it will previously be necessary to give a short sketch of the progress of the reformation in that country.

The long alliance between Scotland and France, had rendered the two nations extremely attached to each other; and Paris was the place where the learned of Scotland had their education. Yet early in the fifteenth century, learning was more encouraged in Scotland, and universities were founded in several episcopal sees. About the same time some of Wickliffe's followers began to show themselves in Scotland; and an Englishman, named Resby, was burnt in 1407 for teaching some opinions contrary to the pope's authority.

Some years after that, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, who had been converted by Huss, was burnt for infusing

the opinions of that martyr into some persons at St. Andrew's.

About the end of the fifteenth century, Lollardy, as it was then called, spread itself into many parts of the diocese of Glasgow, for which several persons of equality were accused; but they answered the archbishop of that see with so much boldness and truth, that he dismissed them, having admonished them to content themselves with the faith of the church, and to beware of new doctrines.

The same spirit of ignorance, immorality, and superstition, had over-run the church of Scotland that was so much complained of in other parts of Europe. The total neglect of the pastoral care, and the scandalous lives of the clergy, filled the people with such prejudices against them, that they were easily disposed to hearken to new preachers, among the most conspicuous of whom was Patrick Hamilton.

STORY AND MARTYRDOM OF PATRICK HAMILTON.

This noble martyr was nephew, by his father, to the earl of Arran, and by his mother, to the duke of Albany. He was educated for the church, and would have been highly preferred, having an abbey given him for prosecuting his studies. But, going over to Germany, and studying at the university of Marpurg, he soon distinguished himself by his zeal, assiduity, and great progress, particularly in the scriptures, which were his grand object, and to which he made every thing else subservient. He also became acquainted with Luther and Melancthon; and being convinced, from his own researches, of the truth of their doctrines, he burned to

impart the light of the gospel to his own countrymen, and to show them the errors and corruptions of their church. For this great purpose he returned to Scotland.

After preaching some time, and holding up the truth to his deluded countrymen, he was, at length, invited to St. Andrew's, to confer upon the points in question. But his enemies could not stand the light, and finding they could not defend themselves by argument, resolved upon revenge. Hamilton was accordingly imprisoned. Articles were exhibited against him, in which he was charged with having denied free-will; advocated justification by faith alone; and declared that faith, hope, and charity, are so linked together, that one cannot exist in the breast without the other.

Upon his refusing to abjure these doctrines, Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, with the archbishop of Glasgow, three bishops, and five abbots, condemned him as an obstinate heretic, delivered him to the secular power, and ordered his execution to take place that very afternoon; for the king had gone in pilgrimage to Ross, and they were afraid, lest, upon his return, Hamilton's friends might have interceded effectually for him. When he was tied to the stake, he expressed great joy in his sufferings, since by these he was to enter into everlasting life.

A train of powder being fired, it did not kindle the fuel, but only burnt his face, which occasioned a delay till more powder was brought; and in that time the friars continually urged him to recant, and pray to the Virgin, saying the *Salve Regina*. Among the rest, a friar named Campbel, who had been often with him in prison, was very officious. Hamilton answered him,

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that he knew he was not a heretic, and had confessed it to him in private, and charged him to answer for that at the throne of Almighty-God. By this time the gunpowder was brought, and the fire being kindled, he died, repeating these words, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! How long, oh Lord! how long shall darkness overwhelm this kingdom? and how long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of these men?" He suffered death in the year 1527.

The views and doctrines of this glorious martyr were such as could not fail to excite the highest admiration of every real believer; and they were expressed with such brevity, such clearness, and such peculiar vigour and beauty (forming in themselves a complete summary of the gospel) that they afforded instruction to all who sought to know more of God.

The force of the truths preached by Hamilton, the firmness of his death, and the singular catastrophe of friar Campbel, made strong impressions on the people; and many received the new opinions. Seaton, a Dominican, the king's confessor, preaching in Lent, set out the nature and method of true repentance, without mixing the directions which the friars commonly gave on that subject; and when another friar attempted to show the defectiveness of what he had taught, Seaton defended himself in another sermon, and reflected on those bishops who did not preach, calling them dumb-dogs. But the clergy dared not meddle with him, till they had by secret insinuations ruined his credit with the king; and the freedom he used in reproving him for his vices, quickly alienated James from him; upon which he withdrew into England, and wrote to the king, taxing the clergy for their cruelty, and praying him to restrain it.

MARTYRDOM OF HENRY FOREST.

Within a few years after the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, Henry Forest, a young friar of Lithgow, said, that Hamilton died a martyr, and that the doctrines, for preaching which he suffered, were true. For this he was apprehended and committed to prison by James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's; who, shortly after, caused a friar, named Walter Laing, to hear his confession.

Henry Forest, in secret confession, declared on his conscience, that he thought Hamilton to be a good man, and wrongfully put to death, and that his doctrines were true, and not heretical; upon which the friar came and related to the bishop the confession which he had received.

This was taken as sufficient evidence against him; and he was accordingly declared to be "a heretic, equal in iniquity with Patrick Hamilton," and sentenced to suffer death.

When the day for his execution arrived, he was brought before the clergy in a place, between the castle of St. Andrew's and Monymaill. As soon as he entered, and saw the faces of the clergy, he cried with a loud voice, "Fie on falsehood, fie on false friars, revealers of confession: after this day let no man ever trust any false friars, contemners of God's word, and deceivers of men."

They then proceeded to degrade him of his friar's orders, and he said, with a loud voice, "Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism;" meaning thereby whatever had been added by papistry to that which Christ himself instituted. Then, after his degradation, they condemned him "as a heretic equal

with Patrick Hamilton:" and so he suffered death for his faithful testimony of the truth of Christ and his gospel, near the abbey church of St. Andrew.

Several others were brought into the bishops' courts, of whom the greatest part abjured; but two suffered in the year 1534. These were

NORMAN GOURLAY, AND DAVID STRATTON.

Gourlay had said, that there was no such place as purgatory, and that the pope was not a bishop, but Antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland. David Stratton was a fisherman; he also said there was no purgatory; that the passion of Christ was the only expiation for sin, and that the tribulations of this world were the only sufferings that the saints underwent. When the vicar asked him for his tithe-fish, Stratton cast them to him out of the boat, so that some fell into the sea; on which the other accused him as having said, that no tithes should be paid.

These two, although greatly solicited by the archbishop and others of the clergy, refused to recant, and were, accordingly, condemned as obstinate heretics, and sentenced to be burned upon the green side between Leith and Edinburgh, with a view to strike terror into the surrounding country. In the afternoon of the same day, they were taken to the place of execution; and, kneeling down, they prayed with great fervency for some time. Then Stratton, addressing himself to the spectators, exhorted them to lay aside their superstitious and idolatrous notions, and employ themselves in seeking the true light of the gospel. He wished to have said more, but was prevented by the officers.

The sentence was then put into execution, and the martyrs cheerfully yielded up their bodies to the flames, commending their souls to the mercy of their heavenly Father, and hoping for immortality, through the merits of their blessed Redeemer.

Several others were accused, of whom some fled to England, and others to Germany.

The changes made in England, raised in all the people a wish to search into matters of religion, which was always fatal to superstition; and pope Clement the Seventh, well aware that the *papal religion* would not bear investigation, wrote earnestly to the king of Scotland, to continue firm to the Catholic faith, resisting all attempts at innovation. Upon this, the king called a parliament, in which new laws were made for maintaining the pope's authority, and proceeding against heretics. King Henry sent Barlow, bishop of St. David's, to James, with some books that were written in defence of his proceedings, and desired him to examine them impartially. He also proposed an interview at York, and a marriage between king James and lady Mary, his eldest daughter. James was not unwilling to listen to these proposals, but the clergy persuaded him to go in person to France, and court Magdalene, daughter of the French king. He accordingly gratified their wishes, and married her in January, 1537; but she died in the following May. Upon her death, the king married Mary of Guise; she was a branch of the family that was most zealously addicted to the old superstition of any in all Europe; and her interest, joined with that of the clergy, engaged the king to become a violent persecutor of all who were of another mind.

The king was very expensive, both in his pleasures and buildings; so that he was always in want of money.

The nobility proposed to him the seizing on the abbey-lands, as his uncle, king Henry, had done. The clergy, on the other hand, advised him to proceed severely against all suspected of heresy; by which means, according to the lists they showed him, he might raise 100,000 crowns a year: they also advised him to provide his illegitimate children with abbeys and priories; and represented to him, that if he continued steadfast in the "old religion," he would have a great party in England, and might be made the head of a league, which was then projected against king Henry.

This so far prevailed with him, that he made four of his sons abbots and priors, and he gave way to the persecuting spirit of the clergy; upon which, many were cited to answer for heresy; some of whom abjured, and some were banished.

Among those who were in trouble was George Buchanan, who, at the king's instigation, had written a very satirical poem against the Franciscans, but was now abandoned by his royal friend. He made his escape, and after living twenty years in foreign countries, returned to do his country honour; and by his poems, and his history of Scotland, showed how great a master he was of the Latin language, and how well skilled in the knowledge of human affairs.

Not long after the burning of Stratton and Gourlay, dean Thomas Forret was accused to the bishop of Dunkeld, as "a heretic, and one that showed the mysteries of the Scriptures to the vulgar people, in their own language, to make the clergy detestable in their sight."

The bishop of Dunkeld said to him, "I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsel, how you shall rule and guide yourself.

"My dear dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, from your parishioners, which is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and, therefore, I would you took your cow, and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do, or else it is too much to preach every Sunday; for, in so doing, you may make the people think that *we* should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach that, and let the rest be."

Forret answered, "My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain, that I take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have; and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have; and so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us. And where your lordship saith, 'it is too much to preach every Sunday,' indeed I think it is too little; and also would wish that your lordship did the like."

"Nay, nay, dean Thomas," cried the bishop, "let that be, for we are not ordained to preach."

- Then said Forret, "Where your lordship biddeth me preach, when I find any good epistle, or a good gospel; truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament, and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle, or an evil gospel; but if your lordship will show me the good epistle, and the good gospel, and the evil epistle, and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good and omit the evil."

The bishop replied, "*I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was; therefore, dean*

Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuise and pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies, for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, ye will repent when you may not mend it."

Forret said, "I trust my cause is just in the presence of God; and, therefore, I heed not much what may follow thereupon;" and so he departed.

A short time afterwards, he was summoned to appear before cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's; and, after a short examination, he was condemned to be burnt as a heretic. A similar sentence was pronounced, at the same time, on four other persons, named Killor, Beverage, Simson, and Foster; and they were all burnt together on the castle-hill, at Edinburgh, February 28, 1538.

MARTYRDOM OF SIX PERSONS.

In 1543, the archbishop of St. Andrew's making a visitation into various parts of his diocese, several persons were accused at Perth of heresy. Among these the six following were condemned to die: William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Hunter, James Raveleson, and Helen Stark.

The accusations laid against them, were to the following effect.

The four first were accused of having hung up the image of St. Francis, nailing ram's horns on his head, and fastening a cow's tail to his rump; but the principal matter on which they were condemned was, having regaled themselves with a goose on Allhallow's eve, a fast day, according to the Romish superstition.

James Raveleson was accused of having ornamented his house with the three-crowned diadem of Peter, carved

in wood, which the archbishop conceived to be done in mockery to his cardinal's hat.

Helen Stark was accused of not having accustomed herself to pray to the Virgin Mary, more especially during the time she was in childbed.

On these accusations they were all found guilty, and immediately received sentence of death; the four men for eating the goose to be hanged; James Raveleson to be burnt; and the woman, with her sucking infant, to be put into a sack, and drowned.

The four men, with the woman and child, suffered at the same time; but James Raveleson was not executed till some days after.

On the day appointed for the execution of the former, they were all conducted under a proper guard, to the place where they were to suffer, and were attended by a prodigious number of spectators.

As soon as they arrived at the place of execution, they all fervently prayed for some time; after which Robert Lamb addressed himself to the spectators, exhorting them to fear God, and to quit the practice of papistical abominations.

The four men were all hanged on the same gibbet; and the woman, with her sucking child, were conducted to a river adjoining, when being fastened in a large sack, they were thrown into it and drowned.

They all suffered their fate with becoming fortitude and resignation, committing their departing spirits to that Redeemer who was to be their final judge, and who, they had reason to hope, would usher them into the realms of everlasting bliss.

When we reflect on the sufferings of these unhappy persons, we are naturally induced, both as men and Christians, to lament their fate, and to express our feelings

by dropping the tear of commiseration. The putting to death four men, for little other reason than that of satisfying nature with an article sent by Providence for that very purpose, merely because it was on a day prohibited by ridiculous bigotry and superstition, is shocking indeed; but the fate of the innocent woman, and her still more harmless infant, makes human nature tremble at the contemplation of what mankind may become, when incited by bigotry to the gratification of the most diabolical cruelty.

Besides the abovementioned persons, many others were cruelly persecuted during the archbishop's stay at Perth, some being banished, and others confined in loathsome dungeons. In particular, John Rogers, a pious and learned man, was, by the archbishop's orders, murdered in prison, and his body thrown over the walls into the street; after which the archbishop caused a report to be spread, that he had met with his death in an attempt to make his escape.

MARTYRDOM OF WALTER MILLE.

The last person who suffered martyrdom in Scotland, for the cause of Christ, was one Walter Mille, who was burnt at Edinburgh in the year 1558.

This person, in his younger years, had travelled into Germany, and on his return was installed a priest of the church of Lunan in Angus; but, on an information of heresy against him, in the time of cardinal Beaton, he was forced to abandon his charge and abscond.

After the death of that prelate he returned, not knowing the persecuting spirit of his successor. Being well known by several bigoted papists in the neighbourhood,

they accused him of heresy; in consequence of which, he was apprehended, and committed to prison.

A few days after, he was brought before the archbishop and his suffragans, in order to to be examined relative to his religious opinions; when Sir Andrew Oliphant, by order of the archbishop, interrogated him as follows:

Oliphant.—What think you of priest's marriage?

Mille.—I hold it a blessed band: for Christ himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men; but you think it not free to you, ye abhor it, and in the mean time take other men's wives and daughters, and will not keep the band God hath made. Ye vow chastity, and break the same. St. Paul had rather marry than burn; the which I have done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, what state or degree soever he were.

Oliphant.—Thou sayest there be not seven sacraments.

Mille.—Give me the Lord's Supper and Baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. For if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, marriage, and given yourself to whoredom?

Oliphant.—Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and sayest that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry.

Mille.—A lord or a king sendeth and calleth many to a dinner, and when the dinner is in readiness, he causeth to ring a bell, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner, but the lord, turning his back unto them, eateth all himself, and mocketh them; so do ye.

Oliphant.—Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar

to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood.

Mille.—The scripture of God is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually, and standeth in faith only; and as for the mass it is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all sacrifices.

Oliphant.—Thou deniest the office of a bishop.

Mille.—I affirm that they, whom ye call bishops, do no bishops' works; nor use the office of bishops, as Paul biddeth, writing to Timothy, but live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock; nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honoured and called my lords.

Oliphant.—Thou spakest against pilgrimage, and calledst it a pilgrimage to whoredom.

Mille.—I affirm and say, that it is not commanded in the scripture, and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, than at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothels.

Oliphant.—Thou preachedst secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields.

Mille.—Yea, man, and on the sea also, sailing in a ship.

Oliphant.—Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous opinions? and if thou wilt not, I will pronounce sentence against thee.

Mille.—I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, *quod facis fac citius*. Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; but I will abide both.

In consequence of this, sentence of condemnation was immediately passed on him, and he was conducted to prison in order for execution the following day.

This steadfast believer in Christ was eighty-two years of age, and very infirm; from whence it was supposed, that he could scarcely be heard. However, when he was led to the place of execution, he expressed his religious sentiments with such courage, and at the same time composure of mind, as astonished even his enemies. As soon as he was fastened to the stake, and the fagots lighted, he addressed the spectators as follows:

“The cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime, (though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner,) but only for the defence of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ; and I praise God who hath called me, by his mercy, to seal the truth with my life; which, as I received it from him, so I willingly offer it up to his glory. Therefore, as you would escape eternal death, be no longer seduced by the lies of the seat of anti-christ: but depend solely on Jesus Christ, and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation.” He then added, “That he trusted he should be the last who would suffer death in Scotland upon a religious account.”

Thus did this pious Christian cheerfully give up his life, in defence of the truth of Christ’s gospel, not doubting but he should be made a partaker of his heavenly kingdom.

The people were so grieved at the death of this good man, that, as a monument of it to future ages, they raised a pile of stones on the spot where he suffered. This, however, was removed by order of the popish clergy, but replaced again by the people several times, till at

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length a guard was appointed to apprehend all persons who should carry stones to that place.

It is remarkable that from the universal esteem in which this man was held by the people, a cord could not be found to tie him with after his condemnation; and on that very account his execution was postponed till the next morning, when they were reduced to the necessity of using the cords belonging to the archbishop's pavilion.

The death of Walter Mille proved the overthrow of popery in Scotland. The clergy were so sensible that their affairs were falling to decay, that they, from that time, never dared to proceed to a capital punishment, on account of religion: insomuch, that in the synod held in Edinburgh, in July this year, 1558, some persons who had been impeached of heresy were only condemned, upon their non-appearance, to make a public recantation at the market-cross of that city, on the 1st of September following, being St. Giles' Day, the tutelar saint of that place.

It was usual, at the feast of this saint, which now nearly approached, to carry his image in procession through the town, and the queen-regent was to honour the solemnity with her presence. But when the time was come, the image was missing; it having been stolen from its station, by some who were too wise to pray to it.

This caused a halt to be made, till another image was borrowed from the Grey-friars, with which they set forward: and after the queen had accompanied them a considerable way, she withdrew into the castle, where she was to dine. But no sooner was she gone, than some persons, who had been purposely appointed, tore

the picture from off the shoulders of those who carried it, threw it into the dirt, and totally destroyed it.

This gave such universal satisfaction to the people, that a general shout ensued, and a riot continued in the street during some hours; which was at length suppressed by the vigilance of the magistrates.

About the same time a great disturbance happened at Perth, the circumstances attending which were as follow: a celebrated reformist minister having preached to a numerous congregation, after sermon was over, some godly persons remained in the church, when a priest was so imprudent as to open a case, in which was curiously engraved the figures of many saints; after which he made preparations for saying mass. A young man observing this, said aloud, "This is intolerable! As God plainly condemns, in scripture, idolatry, shall we stand and see such an insult?" The priest was so offended at this, that he struck the youth a violent blow on the head, on which he broke one of the figures in the case, when immediately all the people fell on the priest and destroyed every thing in the church that tended to idolatry. This being soon known abroad, the people assembled in large bodies, and proceeded to the monasteries of the Grey and Black Friars, both of which they stripped; and then pulled down the house of the Carthusians; so that in the space of two days nothing remained of those noble buildings but the bare walls. The like kind of outrages were committed in many other towns in the kingdom.

At this time there were many persons who made it their business to solicit subscriptions in order to carry on the work of reformation, and to abolish popery. Among these were several of the nobility, particularly

the earl of Argyle, the lord James Stewart, the earl of Glencairn, &c.

The endeavours of these noble reformists were attended with such success that they at length effected a complete reformation in the kingdom; though they met with many obstacles from their inveterate enemies the papists.

BOOK X.

ACCESSION OF QUEEN MARY, SUBVERSION OF RELIGION, AND PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, DURING HER REIGN.

IT has been asserted by the Roman Catholics, "That all those who suffered death, during the reign of queen Mary, had been adjudged guilty of high treason, in consequence of their rising in defence of lady Jane Grey's title to the crown." To disprove this, however, is no difficult matter, since every one, conversant in English history, must know, that those who are found guilty of high treason are to be hanged and quartered. But how can even a papist affirm, that ever a man in England was *burned* for high treason? We admit, that some few suffered death in the ordinary way of process at common law, for their adherence to lady Jane; but none of those were burned. Why, if traitors, were they taken before the bishops, who have no power to judge in criminal cases? Even allowing the bishops to have had power to judge, yet their own bloody statute did not empower them to execute. The proceedings against the martyrs are still extant, and they are carried on directly according to the forms prescribed by their own statute. Not one of those who were burned in England, was ever accused of high-treason, much less were they tried at common law. Having said thus much, by way of introduction, we shall proceed with the Acts and Monuments of the British Martyrs.

By the death of king Edward, the crown devolved, according to law, on his eldest sister Mary, who was crowned at Westminster in the usual form; but dreadful were the consequences that followed. The narrowness of spirit which always distinguishes a weak mind from one that has been enlarged by education, pervaded all the actions of this princess. Unacquainted with the constitution of the country, and a slave to superstition; she thought to domineer over the rights of private judgment, and trample on the privileges of mankind.

The first exertion of her regal power was, to wreak her vengeance upon all those who had supported the title of lady Jane Grey.

The first of these was the duke of Northumberland, who was beheaded on Tower-hill, and who, in consequence of his crimes, arising from ambition, died unpitied: nay, he was even taunted on the scaffold by the spectators, who knew in what manner he had acted to the good duke of Somerset.

The other executions that followed were numerous indeed, but as they were all upon the statute of high treason, they cannot, with any degree of propriety, be applied to Protestants, or, as they were then called, *heretics*. The parliament was pliant enough to comply with all the queen's requests, and an act passed to establish the popish religion. This was what the queen waited for, and power being now put into her hands, she was determined to exercise it in the most arbitrary manner. She was destitute of human compassion, and without the least reluctance could tyrannize over the consciences of men.

This leads us to the conclusion of the first year of her reign; and we consider it the more necessary to take notice of these transactions, although not, strictly speak-

ing, *martyrdoms*, that our readers might be convinced of the great difference there is between dying for religion, and for high treason. It is history alone that can teach them such things, and it is reflection only that can make history useful. We frequently read without reflection, and study without consideration; but the following portions of our history, in particular, will furnish ample materials for serious thought to our readers, and we entreat their attention to them.

SECTION I.

MARTYRDOMS IN THE SECOND YEAR OF QUEEN MARY'S REIGN.

The queen having satiated her malice upon those persons who had adhered to lady Jane Grey, she had next recourse to those old auxiliaries of popery, fire, fagot, and the stake, in order to convert her heretical subjects to the *true* Catholic faith.

MARTYRDOM OF THE REV. JOHN ROGERS.

Mr. John Rogers, the aged minister of St. Sepulchre's church, Snow Hill, London, was the protomartyr: he was the first sacrifice, strictly speaking, offered up in this reign to popery, and led the way for those sufferers, whose blood has been the foundation, honour, and glory of the church of England.

This Mr. Rogers had been some time chaplain to the English factory at Antwerp. There he became ac-

quainted with Mr. Tindall, and assisted him in his translation of the New Testament. There were several other worthy Protestants there at that time, most of whom had been driven out of England, on account of the persecutions for the six articles in the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. Mr. Rogers, knowing that marriage was lawful, and even enjoined in scripture, entered into that state with a virtuous woman, and soon after set out for Saxony, in consequence of an invitation to that effect.

When Edward ascended the throne of England, Mr. Rogers returned to his native country, and was promoted by bishop Ridley to a prebendary of St. Paul's. He was also appointed reader of the divinity lecture in that cathedral, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's.

In this situation he continued some years: and as queen Mary was returning from the Tower, where she had been imbibing Gardiner's pernicious counsels, Mr. Rogers was preaching at St. Paul's Cross. He inveighed much against popery, expatiated on the many virtues of the late king Edward, and exhorted the people to abide in the Protestant religion.

For this sermon he was summoned before the council; but he vindicated himself so well, that he was dismissed.

This lenity shown by the council was rather displeasing to the queen; and Mr. Rogers' zeal against popery being equal to his knowledge and integrity, he was considered as a person who would prevent the re-establishment of popery.

For this reason it was, that he was summoned a second time before the council; and although there were many papists among the members, yet such was the respect almost universally felt for Mr. Rogers, that he was again

dismissed, but was commanded not to go out of his own house. This order he complied with, although he might have made his escape if he would. He knew he could have had a living in Germany, and he had a wife and ten children: but all these things did not move him; he did not court death, but met it with fortitude when it came.

He remained confined in his own house several weeks, till Bonner, bishop of London, procured an order to have him committed to Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers.

He was afterwards brought a third ~~time~~ before the council, where Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, presided. It was not with any view of showing lenity to the prisoner; it was not with a view of convincing him of error, supposing him to be guilty of any; it was not to recall him to the Romish church that he was brought there: no, his destruction was designed, and he was singled out to be an example to all those who should refuse to comply with Romish idolatry.

The questions asked him were of a very frivolous nature, but still they were such, that answers to them served to criminate the man. It is a maxim in common law, that no man is to be his own accuser; by which is meant, that he is not to answer any questions which may bring the guilt home to him, unless he chooses to answer, leaving his enemies to prove the assertions.

On the other hand, it is laid down as a maxim by divines, and certainly it is a good one, that no man should tell a falsehood. Christ said, "*He that denies me before men, him will I also deny before my Father, who is in heaven.*" We know the weakness of human nature, but we ought to be much upon our guard against speaking any thing that is false. This shows us to be

cowards: let us, like Christ Jesus, witness a true confession; let us not shrink back at the thought of suffering for the truth, as it is in Jesus; but let us remember that the pleasures of sin are momentary; the punishment of them, eternal.

Such sentiments as these took place in the mind of Mr. Rogers, when he was brought before the chancellor and council. He freely acknowledged, that he had been fully convinced, in his own mind, that the pope was anti-christ, and that his religion was contrary to the gospel.

He ~~made~~ most elaborate defence, which, however, did not avail him in the minds of his persecutors. He showed them, that the statute upon which he was prosecuted had never legally passed, and even if it had, it was in all respects contrary to the word of God: for whatever emoluments might have been bestowed upon the clergy from time to time, they had no right to persecute those who differed from them in sentiment.

After he had been examined several times before the council, which was a mere mockery of justice, he was turned over to Bonner, bishop of London, who caused him to go through a second mock examination; and, at last, declared him to be an obstinate heretic. A certificate of this was, in the ordinary course, sent into chancery, and a writ was issued for the burning of Mr. Rogers in Smithfield. This sentence did not in the least frighten our martyr, who, by faith in the blood of Christ, was ready to go through with his attachment to the truth, without paying any regard to the malice of his enemies.

On the 4th of February, 1555, Mr. Rogers was taken out of Newgate, to be led to the place of execution, when the sheriff asked him if he would recant his opi-

nions? To this he answered, "That what he had preached he would seal with his blood." "Then," said the sheriff, "thou art a heretic." "That will be known when we meet at the judgment-seat of Christ."

As they were taking him to Smithfield, his wife and eleven children went to take their last farewell of a tender husband, and an indulgent parent. The sheriffs, however, would not permit them to speak to him; so unfeeling is bigotry, so merciless is superstition! When he was chained to the stake he declared that God would in his own good time vindicate the truth of what he had taught, and appear in favour of the protestant religion. Fire was then set to the pile, and he was consumed to ashes.

He was a very pious and humane man, and his being singled out as the first victim of superstitious cruelty, can only entitle him to a higher crown of glory in heaven.

SECTION II.

SUFFERINGS AND MARTYRDOM OF BISHOP HOOPER.

The person to whom we allude was a man of eminence in his profession. He was educated in Oxford, but in what college does not appear; probably it was in Queen's college, because he was a north countryman, that seminary of learning being appropriated for those of the northern counties.

He made a great progress in his studies, and was remarkable for early piety. He studied the sacred scrip-

tures with the most unremitting assiduity, and was, for some time, an ornament to the university.

His spirit was fervent, and he hated every thing in religion that was not of an essential nature. When the six articles were published, Hooper did all he could to oppose them, as maintaining every thing in the popish system, except the supremacy. He preached frequently against them, which created him many enemies in Oxford; but Henry VIII. had such an opinion of him, that he would not suffer him to be molested. Soon after this he was obliged to leave the university, and assuming a lay character, became steward to Sir Thomas Arundel, who, at first, treated him with great kindness, till, having discovered his sentiments as to religion, he became his most implacable enemy.

Mr. Hooper having received intelligence that some mischief was intended against him, left the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, and borrowing a horse from a friend, whose life he had saved, rode off towards the sea-side, intending to go to France, sending back the horse by a servant. He resided some time at Paris, in as private a manner as possible. Returning again to England, he was informed against, and obliged to leave his native country a second time.

He went over again to France, but not being safe there, he travelled into Germany: from thence he went to Basil, where he married a pious woman, and afterwards settled some time at Zurich, in Switzerland: there he applied closely to his studies, and made himself master of the Hebrew language.

At length, when the true religion was set up after the death of king Henry VIII. amongst other English exiles that returned was Mr. Hooper. In the most grateful manner he returned thanks to all his friends abroad,

who had shown him so much compassion; particularly to the learned Bullinger, who was a great friend to all those who were persecuted for the gospel. When he took an affectionate leave of Bullinger, he told him that he would write to him as often as he could find an opportunity, but added, "probably I shall be burned to ashes, and then some friend will give you information." Another circumstance should not be omitted in this place, and that is, that when he was appointed bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, the herald, who emblazoned his arms, put the figure of a lamb in a fiery-bush, with the rays of glory descending from heaven on the lamb, which had such an effect on Dr. Hooper, that he said he knew he should die for the truth; and this consideration inspired him with courage. But to return to our narrative.

When Dr. Hooper arrived in London, he was so much filled with zeal to promote the gospel, that he preached every day to crowded congregations. In his sermons he reproved sinners in general, but particularly directed his discourse against the peculiar vices of the times.

The abuses he complained of were owing to a variety of causes: the nobility had got the church lands, and the clergy were not only seditious in their conduct, but ignorant even to a proverb. This occasioned a scene of general immorality among all ranks and degrees of people, which furnished pious men with sufficient matter for reproof.

In his doctrine, Hooper was clear, plain, eloquent, and persuasive; and so much followed by all ranks of people, that the churches could not contain them.

Although no man could labour more indefatigably in the Lord's vineyard, yet Hooper had a most excellent constitution, which he supported by temperance, and

was therefore enabled to do much good. In the whole of his conversation with those who waited on him in private, he spoke of the purity of the gospel, and of the great things of God, cautioning the people against returning to popery, if any change in the government should take place. This was the more necessary, as the people in general were but ill grounded, though Cranmer, Ridley, and many other pious men, were using every means in their power to make them acquainted with the principles of the Christian religion. In this pious undertaking, no one was more forward than Dr. Hooper; at all times, "in season, and out of season," he was ready to discharge his duty as a faithful minister of the gospel.

After he had preached some time, with great success, in the city, he was sent for by Edward VI. who appointed him one of his chaplains, and soon after made him bishop of Gloucester, by letters-patent under the great seal; having at the same time, the care of the bishopric of Worcester committed to him.

As Dr. Hooper had been some time abroad, he had contracted an aversion to the popish ceremonies, and before he went to his bishopric, he requested of the king that he might not be obliged to give countenance to them, which request the monarch complied with, though much against the inclinations of the other bishops. Dr. Hooper and his brethren of the reformed church, had many disputes about the Romish tenets, which shows that there are some remains of corruption in the best of men. Some persons seek honours with unwearied zeal, and seem to take more pleasure in titles, than in considering that an elevated rank only increases the necessity of being more observant of our duty.

Dr. Hooper differed from these men, for instead of

seeking preferments, he would never have accepted of any, had they not been pressed on him. Having the care of two dioceses, he held and guided them both together, as if they had been but one. His leisure time, which was but little, he spent in hearing causes, in private prayer, and reading the scriptures. He likewise visited the schools, and encouraged youth in the pursuit of learning. He had children of his own, whom he likewise instructed, and treated them with all the tenderness of a good parent, but without the indulgence of a weak one.

He kept open house, with provisions for the poor, which was a very pious and necessary action in those times, because many persons who had been driven out of the convents roved up and down the country starving. He relieved a certain number of those every day, and when they had satisfied their hunger he delivered a discourse to them on the principles of the Christian religion.

After this manner, bishop Hooper continued to discharge his duty as a faithful pastor, during the whole of king Edward's reign. But no sooner was Mary proclaimed, than a serjeant at arms was sent to arrest our bishop, in order to answer to two charges:

First, to Dr. Heath, who had been deprived of the diocese of Gloucester for his adherence to popery, but was now restored by the queen: Secondly, to Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, for having given evidence to king Edward against that persecuting prelate.

Bishop Hooper was desired, by some of his friends, to make his escape, but his answer was, "I once fled for my life, but I am now determined, through the strength and grace of God, to witness the truth to the last."

Being brought before the queen and council, Gardiner, sitting as president, accused bishop Hooper of heresy, calling him by the most opprobrious names. This was in September, 1553, and although he satisfactorily answered the charges brought against him, he was committed to prison on the pretence of being indebted to the queen in several sums of money. On the 19th of March, 1554, when he was called again to appear before Gardiner, the chancellor, and several other bishops, would not suffer him to plead his cause, but deprived him of his bishopric.

Being asked whether he was a married man, he answered in the affirmative, and declared that he would not be unmarried, till death occasioned the separation; because he looked upon the marriage of the clergy, as ~~necessary and legal.~~

The more they attempted to brow-beat him, the more resolute he became, and the more pertinent in his answers. He produced the decrees of the council of Nice, which first ascertained the canon of scripture, where it was ordained to be lawful, as well as expedient, for the clergy to marry. These arguments were to little purpose with men who had their instructions from the queen, and were previously determined to punish him; the good bishop was therefore committed to the Tower, but afterwards removed to the Fleet.

As the determination for burning him was not agreed on, he was only considered as a debtor to the queen, for the rents of his bishopric, which was the reason of his being sent to the Fleet. This, however, was a most unjust charge; for the protestant religion had been established in the first year of the reign of her brother Edward, by act of parliament; so that Dr. Hooper's ac-

ceptance of a bishopric was in all respects legal and constitutional.

As a debtor he was to have the rules of the Fleet, which the warden granted him for five pounds sterling; but went immediately and informed Gardiner, who, notwithstanding he had paid the money, ordered him to be closely confined.

The following account of his cruel treatment while confined here, was written by himself, and affords a picture of popish barbarity, which cannot fail to make a due impression on our readers.

“The first of September, 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet, from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison; and within six days after I paid five pounds sterling to the warden for fees, for my liberty; who immediately upon payment thereof, complained unto the bishop of Winchester, upon which I was committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the Tower-chamber of the Fleet, and used extremely ill. Then by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but as soon as dinner and supper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, whilst I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

“After one quarter of a year, Babington the warden, and his wife, fell out with me, respecting the wicked mass: and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained permission to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers

therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, until by God's means good people sent me bedding to lie on. On one side of the prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other the town ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.

"During which time I have been sick, and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains being all closed upon me, I have mourned, called and cried for help; but the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying, 'Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him.'

"I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishoprics, and since that time, I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely, than the veriest slave that ever came to the common side of the prison.

"The warden hath also imprisoned my man, William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none, but a little remembrance of good people's names who had given me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

"I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my goods, livings, friends, and comfort, taken from me; the queen owing me, by just account, fourscore pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to keep me, neither is there suffered any one to come at me, whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked

man and woman, so that I see no remedy, (saving God's help) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death."

After he had been eighteen months in prison, on the 22d of January, 1555, the warden of the Fleet was ordered to bring him before the chancellor Gardiner, who, with other bishops, were appointed to examine him a second time, at Gardiner's palace in Southwark.

When brought before these merciless persecutors, the chancellor made a long speech to him, desiring him to forsake the opinions he had embraced, and return to the bosom of the church; adding, that as the pope was the head of the church, so it was breaking through her unity to separate from her. He promised to procure him the pope's absolution if he would recant his opinions; but this was merely an ostentatious pretence to mercy; for Gardiner knew, that Hooper was too well grounded in his religious opinions, to comply with his request.

To this Dr. Hooper answered, that as the pope's doctrine was contrary to the sacred scriptures, and as he could not be the head of the church, because there was no head of it but Christ, so he would live and die asserting the doctrines he had taught.

Gardiner replied, that the queen would never show any mercy to the enemies of the Pope; whereupon Basington, the warden, was commanded to take him back to the Fleet. It was likewise ordered, that he should be shifted from his former chamber, which was done; and he was searched, to find, if possible, whether he had any books concealed about him, but none were found.

On the 25th of January he was again brought before the chancellor to be examined, and was again asked

whether or not he would recant; but nothing could shake his constancy.

On Monday morning, February 4, the bishop of London went to the prison to degrade him, which was done in the usual form, by putting the different robes upon him worn by priests, and then taking them off. They did not put on him the bishop's robes, because they did not admit of the validity of his ordination. While they were stripping him of these Romish rags, he told them he was glad to part with them, because his mind had been always against them, and considered them as no better than heathenish relics; as in fact they were, for the same kind of robes were worn by the priests before the time of Constantine the Great.

A few hours after he was degraded, the keeper came to him and told him, he was to be sent down to Gloucester to suffer death. Upon this he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, praising God that he was to die among his people, as it would be the means of confirming them in the truth of what he had taught them. He immediately sent to his servant for his boots and cloak, that he might be in readiness to attend the officers whenever they should come for him.

About four in the morning he was taken out of prison by the sheriff, and conducted to the sign of the Angel, near St. Dunstan's church, Fleet-street. There he was received by the queen's officers, who had the warrant for his execution; after which, they permitted him to take some refreshment.

About break of day he cheerfully mounted on horseback without help, having a hood on his head under his hat, that he should not be known; and thus equipped, with a serene and cheerful countenance, proceeded on the road for Gloucester, attended by his keepers. The

guards asked him what houses he was accustomed to use on the road; and when they were informed, in order to perplex him, they took him to others.

On the Thursday following they arrived at Cirencester, a town in his own diocese, and about eleven miles from Gloucester, where they dined at the house of a woman who had always hated the Protestants, and traduced bishop Hooper's character as much as possible. This woman, seeing his constancy, was so affected, that she lamented his case with tears, and begged his pardon for the manner in which she had spoken of him.

Dinner being over, they proceeded to Gloucester, where they arrived about five in the afternoon. A great crowd of people were assembled about a mile without the town; so that one of the guard, fearing a rescue, rode up to the mayor's house, to demand aid and assistance. This being granted, the people dispersed.

Hooper was that night lodged in the house of one Ingram, where he ate his supper with a good appetite, and slept very quietly, as the guard declared, for they continued in the chamber with him all the night. In the morning he got up, and having prayed most fervently, was visited by Sir Anthony Kingston, who was one of the persons appointed to see him executed. When Sir Anthony came into the chamber he found him at his prayers, and waiting till he had done, asked if he did not know him. To this bishop Hooper answered, that he did know him, and was glad to see him in good health. He added, that he was come there to end his life, and blessed God that it was to be in the midst of his own diocese. He said he loved life as well as it ought to be loved, but he was not to enjoy it at the expense of his future welfare. He was not to blaspheme his Saviour by denying his name, through which alone

he looked for salvation; but trusted that he should be endowed with fortitude sufficient to bear all the torments his enemies could inflict upon him.

Sir Anthony Kingston had profited much from the preaching of bishop Hooper, and taking his leave, told him, with tears, that he was extremely sorry to lose so worthy a person. Dr. Hooper answered, that it was his duty to persevere in the truth, and not to be ashamed of the gospel, lest Christ should refuse to acknowledge him before his Father in heaven.

The same day, in the afternoon, a poor blind boy came to visit bishop Hooper, and falling on his knees before him, said, "Ah, my lord, I am blind in my eyes, but your pious instructions have removed a spiritual blindness from my heart. May God support you under all your sufferings, and bring you, even through flames, to heaven!"

Several other persons visited the bishop, amongst whom was a very wicked man, a bigoted papist, who had known him formerly. This man upbraided him with what he called his heresy; but Hooper bore all his insults with patience and meekness.

The time appointed for the execution of this pious bishop drawing nigh, he was delivered to the sheriffs of Gloucester, who, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to his lodgings, and at the first meeting, having saluted him, took him by the hand. The resigned martyr thanked the mayor, with the rest of the officers, for taking a condemned man by the hand, and for all the friendship that had formerly subsisted between them, for he had long been acquainted with them. He begged of the sheriffs that they would make the fire as violent as possible, that his pains might be of the shorter duration; adding, that he might have had his life if he chose it, but

could not, consistently with that duty he owed to God, and his own conscience. He said, he knew the bishop of Rome was anti-christ, and therefore he could not be obedient to him. He desired they would not deny his request, but let him suffer as soon as possible, without exercising any unnecessary cruelty, which was unbecoming the dignity of men of honour.

A consultation was held by the sheriffs, whether or not they should lodge him, the evening before his execution, in the common gaol over the north gate of the city; but the guards who had brought him from London, interceded so earnestly in his favour, that he was permitted to remain in his former lodgings; and he spent the evening in prayer, together with as much of the night as he could spare from his ordinary rest. The believer, who is to rest in Christ Jesus throughout the endless ages of eternity, may well-enjoy an hour's sleep, before the commencement of even the most excruciating tortures.

When bishop Hooper arose in the morning, he desired that no person whatever should disturb him in his devotions, till the officers came to lead him out to execution.

About eight o'clock, the lord Chandois, attended by several other noblemen and gentlemen, came to conduct him to the place of execution; and at nine Dr. Hooper was ready. Being brought down from his chamber, when he saw the guards, he told the sheriffs he was no traitor, but one who was willing to die for the truth; and that if they would have permitted him, he would have willingly gone unguarded to the stake, without troubling any officers. Afterwards, looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, above seven thousand in

number, he said, "Alas! why are so many people assembled? I dare not speak to them as formerly."

He was led forward between the two sheriffs, as a lamb to the slaughter, having on a gown which the man of the house, where he was confined, had lent him; and being much afflicted with an illness he had contracted in prison, he was obliged to walk with a staff in his hand. The sheriffs having commanded him not to speak one word, he was not seen to open his mouth, but beholding the people, who mourned bitterly, he sometimes lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and looked cheerfully upon such as he knew; and, indeed, his countenance was more cheerful than it had been for a long time before.

When he was brought to the stake, he embraced it, and looked smilingly at a place where he used formerly to preach. He then kneeled down to pray, and beckoned several times to one whom he knew well, to come near to hear him, that he might give a faithful account of what he said, after his death, as he was not permitted to speak aloud. When he had been some time at prayer, a pardon was brought, and offered to him, on condition that he would recant; but neither promises of pardon, nor threatenings of punishment, had any effect on him; so immovable was he in the faith, and so well established in the principles of the gospel.

Prayers being ended, he prepared himself for the stake, by taking off his landlord's gown, which he delivered to the sheriffs, requesting them to see it restored to the owner. He then took off the rest of his clothes, except his doublet and hose, in which he intended to be burned; but the sheriffs not permitting that, he patiently submitted. After this, a pound of gunpowder was placed between his legs, and the same quantity under each arm;

three chains were then fixed round him, one to his neck, another to his middle, and a third to his legs; and with these he was fastened to the stake.

This being done, fire was put to the fagots; but they being green, he suffered inexpressible torment. Soon after this, a load of dry fagots was brought, but still the wind blew away the flames; so that he begged for more, that he might be put out of his misery.

At length the fire took effect, and the martyr triumphantly ascended into heaven, after such a fiery trial as almost exceeds any thing we meet with in the primitive ages. His last words were, "Lord Jesus have mercy upon me; enable me to bear my sufferings for thy name's sake, and receive my spirit."

Such was the end of one of the most eminent fathers of the church of England; and surely that religion which could support him under such dreadful tortures must be of God. Fanaticism and superstition may give resolution; but it is only the divine influence of pure religion which can bestow calmness in the hour of death.

SECTION III.

THE LIVES, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOMS OF HUGH LATIMER, BISHOP OF WORCESTER; AND NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON.

Hugh Latimer was born of humble parents at Thirkeston, in Leicestershire, about the year 1475, who gave him a good education, and sent him to Cambridge, where he showed himself a zealous papist, and inveighed much against the reformers, who, at that time, began to make

some figure in England. But conversing frequently with Thomas Bilney, the most considerable person at Cambridge of all those who favoured the reformation, he saw the errors of popery, and became a zealous Protestant.

Latimer being thus converted, laboured, both publicly and privately, to promote the reformed opinions, and pressed the necessity of a holy life, in opposition to those outward performances, which were then thought the essentials of religion. This rendered him obnoxious at Cambridge, then the seat of ignorance, bigotry, and superstition. However, the unaffected piety of Mr. Bilney, and the cheerful and natural eloquence of honest Latimer, wrought greatly upon the junior students, and increased the credit of the Protestants so much, that the papist clergy were greatly alarmed, and, according to their usual practice, called aloud for the secular-arm.

Under this arm Bilney suffered at Norwich: but his sufferings, far from shaking the reformation at Cambridge, inspired the leaders of it with new courage. Latimer began to exert himself more than he had yet done; and succeeded to that credit with his party, which Bilney had so long supported. Among other instances of his zeal and resolution in this cause, he gave one which was very remarkable: he had the courage to write to the king (Henry VIII.) against a proclamation, then just published, forbidding the use of the Bible in English, and other books on religious subjects. He had preached before his majesty once or twice at Windsor; and had been taken notice of by him in a more affable manner, than that monarch usually indulged towards his subjects. But whatever hopes of preferment his sovereign's favour might have raised in him, he chose to put all to the hazard rather than omit what he thought his duty. His

letter is the picture of an honest and sincere heart: he concludes in these terms; "Accept, gracious sovereign, without displeasure, what I have written; I thought it my duty to mention these things to your majesty. No personal quarrel, as God shall judge me, have I with any man: I wanted only to induce your majesty to consider well, what kind of persons you have about you, and the ends for which they counsel. Indeed, great prince, many of them, or they are much slandered, have very private ends. God grant your majesty may see through all the designs of evil men, and be in all things equal to the high office, with which you are intrusted. Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself; have pity upon your own soul, and think that the day is at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and the blood which hath been shed by your sword: in the which day, that your grace may stand steadfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have your pardon sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which alone serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him, who suffered death for our sins. The Spirit of God preserve you."

Lord Cromwell was now in power, and being a favourer of the reformation, he obtained a benefice in Wiltshire for Latimer, who immediately went thither and resided, discharging his duty in a very conscientious manner, though much persecuted by the Romish clergy; who, at length, carried their malice so far as to obtain an archiepiscopal citation for his appearance in London. His friends would have had him quit England; but their persuasions were in vain.

He set out for London in the depth of winter, and under a severe fit of the stone and colic; but he was most distressed at the thoughts of leaving his parish exposed

to the popish clergy. On his arrival at London, he found a court of bishops and canonists ready to receive him; where, instead of being examined, as he expected, about his sermons, a paper was put into his hands, which he was ordered to subscribe, declaring his belief in the efficacy of masses for the souls in purgatory, of prayers to the dead saints, of pilgrimages to their sepulchres and relics, the pope's power to forgive sins, the doctrine of merit, the seven sacraments, and the worship of images: which, when he refused to sign, the archbishop, with a frown, ordered him to consider what he did. "We intend not," said he, "Mr. Latimer, to be hard upon you; we dismiss you for the present; take a copy of the articles; examine them carefully, and God grant, that at our next meeting we may find each other in better temper."

At the next, and several succeeding meetings, the same scene was acted over again. He continued inflexible, and they continued to distress him. Three times every week they regularly sent for him, with a view either to draw something from him by captious questions, or to tease him at length into compliance. Tired out with this usage, when he was again summoned, instead of going he sent a letter to the archbishop, in which, with great freedom, he told him, "That the treatment he had lately met with had brought him into such a disorder as rendered him unfit to attend that day; that in the mean time he could not help taking this opportunity to expostulate with his grace for detaining him so long from his duty; that it seemed to him most unaccountable, that they, who never preached themselves, should hinder others; that, as for their examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progress;

that if his sermons gave offence, although he persuaded himself they were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any canon of the church, he was ready to answer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them; that he wished a little more regard might be had to the judgment of the people; and that a distinction might be made between the ordinances of God and man; that if some abuses in religion did prevail, as was then commonly supposed, he thought preaching was the best means to discountenance them; that he wished all pastors might be obliged to perform their duty; but that, however, liberty might be given to those who were willing; that as to the articles proposed to him, he begged to be excused subscribing to them; while he lived, he never would abet superstition; and that, lastly, he hoped the archbishop would excuse what he had written; he knew his duty to his superiors, and would practise it; but in that case, he thought a stronger obligation lay upon him."

The bishops, however, continued their persecutions, but their schemes were frustrated in an unexpected manner. Latimer being raised to the see of Worcester, in the year 1533, by the favour of Anne Boleyn, then the favourite wife of Henry, to whom, most probably, he was recommended by lord Cromwell, he had now a more extensive field to promote the principles of the reformation, in which he laboured with the utmost pains and assiduity. All the historians of those times mention him as a person remarkably zealous in the discharge of his new office; and tell us, that in overlooking the clergy of his diocese, he was uncommonly active, warm, and resolute, and presided in his ecclesiastical court with the same spirit. In visiting, he was frequent and ob-

servant; in ordaining, strict and wary; in preaching, indefatigable; and in reproving and exhorting, severe and persuasive.

In 1536 he received a summons to attend the parliament and convocation, which gave him a further opportunity of promoting the work of reformation, whereon his heart was so much set. Many alterations were made in religious matters, and a few months after, the Bible was translated into English, and recommended to a general perusal, in October, 1537.

Latimer, highly satisfied with the prospect of the times, now repaired to his diocese, having made no longer stay in London than was absolutely necessary. He had no talents, and he pretended to have none, for state affairs. His whole ambition was to discharge the pastoral functions of a bishop, neither aiming to display the abilities of a statesman, nor those of a courtier. How very unqualified he was to support the latter of these characters, the following story will prove: It was the custom in those days for the bishops to make presents to the king on New year's day, and many of them presented very liberally, proportioning their gifts to their hopes and expectations. Among the rest, Latimer, being then in town, waited upon the king, with his offering; but instead of a purse of gold, which was the common oblation, he presented a New Testament, with a leaf doubled down in a very conspicuous manner, at this passage, "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge."

In 1539 he was summoned again to attend the parliament: the bishop of Winchester, Gardiner, was his great enemy; and, upon a particular occasion, when the bishops were with the king, kneeled down and solemnly accused bishop Latimer of a seditious sermon preached

at court. Being called upon by the king, with some sternness, to vindicate himself, Latimer was so far from denying and palliating what he had said, that he nobly justified it; and turning to the king, with that noble unconcern which a good conscience inspires, "I never thought myself worthy," said he, "nor did I ever sue to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike it, to give place to my betters; for I grant, there may be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure to allow them for preachers, I can be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt, indeed, to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace." The boldness of his answer baffled his accuser's malice; the severity of the king's countenance changed into a gracious smile, and the bishop was dismissed with that obliging freedom, which this monarch never used but to those he esteemed.

However, as Latimer could not give his vote for the act of the six papistical articles, drawn up by the duke of Norfolk, he thought it wrong to hold any office in a church where such terms of communion were required, and therefore he resigned his bishopric, and retired into the country, where he purposed to live a sequestered life. But in the midst of his security, an unhappy accident carried him again into the tempestuous atmosphere of the court: he received a bruise by the fall of a tree, and the contusion was so dangerous, that he was obliged to seek for better assistance than could be afforded him by the unskilful surgeons of that part of the coun-

try where he resided. With this view he repaired to London, where he had the misfortune to see the fall of his patron, the lord Cromwell: a loss which he was soon made sensible of. For Gardiner's emissaries quickly found him out in his concealment, and a pretended charge of his having spoken against the six articles, being alleged against him, he was sent to the Tower; where, without any judicial examination, he suffered, through one pretence and another, a cruel imprisonment for the remaining six years of king Henry's reign.

On the death of Henry, the protestant interest revived under his son Edward, and Latimer, immediately upon the change of the government, was set at liberty. An address was made to the protector, to restore him to his bishopric: the protector was very willing to gratify the parliament, and proposed the resumption of his bishopric to Mr. Latimer; who now thinking himself unequal to the weight of it, refused to resume it, choosing rather to accept an invitation from his friend archbishop Cranmer, and to take up his residence with him at Lambeth; where his chief employment was to hear the complaints, and redress the grievances of the poor people; and his character for services of this kind, was so universally known, that strangers from every part of England resorted to him.

In these employments he spent more than two years, during which time he assisted the archbishop in composing the homilies, which were set forth by authority, in the reign of king Edward: he was also appointed to preach the Lent sermons before his majesty, which office he performed during the first three years of his reign.

Upon the revolution, which happened at court, after the death of the duke of Somerset, he retired into the

country, and made use of the king's license as a general preacher, in those places, where he thought his labours might be most serviceable.

He was thus employed during the remainder of that reign, and continued the same course, for a short time, in the beginning of the next; but as soon as the re-introduction of popery was resolved on, the first step towards it was the prohibition of all preaching, and licensing only such as were known to be popishly inclined. The bishop of Winchester, who was now prime-minister, having proscribed Mr. Latimer from the first, sent a message to cite him before the council. He had notice of this design some hours before the messenger's arrival, but he made no use of the intelligence. The messenger found him equipped for his journey, at which, expressing his surprise, Mr. Latimer told him, that he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to answer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life; and that he doubted not but that God, who had already enabled him to preach the word before two princes, would enable him to witness the same before a third. The messenger then acquainting him, that he had no orders to seize his person, delivered a letter, and departed. However, opening the letter, and finding it a citation from the council, he resolved to obey it, and set out immediately. As he passed through Smithfield, he said, cheerfully, "This place of burning hath long groaned for me." The next morning he waited upon the council, who having loaded him with many severe reproaches, sent him to the Tower, from whence, after some time, he was removed to Oxford.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY, bishop of London, received the earliest part of his education at Newcastle-upon-Tyne,

from whence he was removed to the university of Cambridge, where his great learning and distinguished abilities, so recommended him, that he was made master of Pembroke hall, in that university.

After being some years in this office he left Cambridge, and travelled into various parts of Europe for his advancement in knowledge. On his return to England, he was made chaplain to Henry VIII. and bishop of Rochester, from which he was translated to the see of London by Edward VI.

In private life he was pious, humane, and affable: in public he was learned, sound, and eloquent; diligent in his duty, and very popular as a preacher.

He had been educated in the Roman Catholic religion, but was brought over to the reformed faith by reading Bertram's book on the Sacrament; and he was confirmed in the same, by frequent conferences with Cranmer and Peter Martyrs, so that he became a zealous promoter of the reformed doctrines and discipline during the reign of king Edward.

The following character of this eminent divine presents so interesting a picture of the good man and pious Christian, that we give it verbatim.

“In his important offices he so diligently applied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that no good child was more singularly loved by his dear parents, than he by his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he preached in one place or other, except he was otherwise hindered by weighty affairs and business; and to his sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and so faithfully did his life portray his doctrines, that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any thing.

“Besides this, he was very learned, his memory was

great, and he had attained such reading withal, that he deserved to be compared to the best men of his age, as his works, sermons, and his sundry disputations in both the universities well testified.

“He was, also, wise of counsel, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. He was anxious to gain the obstinate papists from their erroneous opinions, and sought by gentleness to win them to the truth, as his gentle and courteous treatment of Dr. Heath, who was prisoner with him in king Edward’s time, in his house, one year, sufficiently proved. In fine, he was in all points so good, pious, and spiritual a man, that England never saw his superior.

“He was comely in his person, and well proportioned. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour from his heart, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very kind and natural to his relations, and yet not bearing with them any otherwise than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea to his own brother and sister, that they doing evil should look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens to him, and that they, to be his brother and sister, must live a good life.

“He used all kinds of ways to mortify himself, and was much given to prayer and contemplation: for duly every morning, as soon as he was dressed, he went to his bed-chamber, and there upon his knees prayed for half an hour; which being done, immediately he went to his study (if no other business came to interrupt him) where he continued till ten o’clock, and then came to the common prayer, daily used in his house. These being done he went to dinner; where he talked little, except otherwise occasion had been ministered, and then

it was sober, discreet and wise, and sometimes merry, as cause required.

“The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts talking, or playing at chess: he then returned to his study, and there would continue, except visitors, or business abroad prevented him, until five o’clock at night, when he would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon; which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himself there as at his dinner before. After supper, recreating himself again at chess, after which he would return again to his study; continuing there till eleven o’clock at night, which was his common hour of going to bed, then saying his prayers upon his knees as in the morning when he rose. When at his manor of Fulham, he used to read daily a lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going through all the epistles of St. Paul, giving to every man that could read a New Testament, hiring them, besides, with money, to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially the 13th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, reading also unto his household oftentimes the 101st Psalm, being marvellously careful over his family, that they might be a pattern of all virtue and honesty to others. In short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

“The following is a striking instance of the benevolence of his temper, shown to Mrs. Bonner, mother to Dr. Bonner, bishop of London. Bishop Ridley, when at his manor of Fulham, always sent for Mrs. Bonner, who dwelt in a house adjoining his own, to dinner and supper, with a Mrs. Mungey, Bonner’s sister, saying, Go for my mother Bonner; who coming, was always

placed in the chair at the head of the table, being as gently treated and welcomed as his own mother, and he would never have her displaced from her seat, although the king's council had been present; saying, when any of them were there, (as several times they were) by your lordship's favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner. But how well he was recompensed for this singular kindness and gentle pity afterwards at the hands of Dr. Bonner, is too well known. For who afterwards was a greater enemy to Dr. Ridley than Dr. Bonner? Who went more about to seek his destruction than he? Recompensing his gentleness with extreme cruelty; as well appeared by the severity against Dr. Ridley's own sister, and her husband, George Shipside, from time to time: whereas the gentleness of the other permitted Bonner's mother, sister, and others of his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had from bishop Bonner, but also entertained them in his house, showing much courtesy and friendship daily unto them; while, on the other side, Bonner being restored again, would not suffer the brother and sister of bishop Ridley, and other of his friends, not only not to enjoy that which they had by their brother, but also churlishly, without all order of law or honesty, wrested from them all the livings they had."

On the accession of queen Mary he shared the same fate with many others who professed the truth of the gospel. Being accused of heresy, he was first removed from his bishopric, then sent prisoner to the Tower of London, and afterwards to Bocardo prison, in Oxford; from whence he was committed to the custody of Mr. Irish, mayor of that city, in whose house he remained till the day of his execution.

On the 30th of September, 1555, these two eminent prelates were cited to appear in the divinity school at Oxford, which they accordingly did.

Dr. Ridley was first examined, and severely reprimanded by the bishop of Lincoln, because, when he heard the "cardinal's grace," and the "pope's holiness" mentioned in the commission, he kept on his cap. The words of the bishop were to this effect: "Mr. Ridley, if you will not be uncovered in respect to the pope, and the cardinal his legate, by whose authority we sit in commission, your cap shall be taken off."

The bishop of Lincoln then made a formal harangue, in which he entreated Ridley to return to the holy mother-church, insisted on the antiquity and authority of the see of Rome, and of the pope, as the immediate successor of St. Peter.

Dr. Ridley, in return, strenuously opposed the arguments of the bishop, and boldly vindicated the doctrines of the reformation.

After much debate, the five following articles were proposed to him, and his immediate and explicit answers required.

1. That he had frequently affirmed, and openly maintained and defended, that the true natural body of Christ, after consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2. That he had often publicly affirmed, and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3. That he had often openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead.

4. That the aforesaid assertions have been solemnly condemned by the scholastical censure of this school, as

heretical, and contrary to the Catholic faith, by the prolocutor of the convocation-house, and sundry learned men of both universities.

5. That all and singular the premises are true, and notoriously known, by all near at hand, and in distant places.

To the first of these articles Dr. Ridley replied, "that he believed Christ's body to be in the sacrament, really, by grace and spirit effectually, but not so as to include a lively and moveable body under the forms of bread and wine."

To the second he answered in the affirmative.

Part of the fourth he acknowledged, and part he denied.

To the fifth he answered, "that the premises were so far true, as his replies had set forth. Whether all men spake evil of them he knew not, because he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported."

He was then ordered to appear the following day in St. Mary's church, in Oxford, to give his final answer; after which he was committed to the custody of the mayor.

When Latimer was brought into court, the bishop of Lincoln warmly exhorted him to return to the unity of the church, from which he had revolted.

The same articles which were proposed to Dr. Ridley were read to Latimer, and he was required to give a full and satisfactory answer to each of them.

His replies not being satisfactory to the court, he was dismissed; but ordered to appear in St. Mary's church, at the same time with Dr. Ridley.

On the day appointed, the commissioners met, when Dr. Ridley being first brought before them, the bishop of Lincoln stood up, and began to repeat the proceedings

of the former meeting, assuring him that he had full liberty to make what alterations he pleased in his answers to the articles proposed to him, and to deliver the same to the court in writing.

After some debate, Dr. Ridley took out a paper, and began to read; but the bishop interrupted him, and ordered the beadle to take the writing from him. The doctor desired permission to read on, declaring the contents were only his answers to the articles proposed; but the bishop and others, having privately reviewed it, would not permit it to be read in court.

When the articles were again administered, he referred the notary to his writing, who set them down according to the same.

The bishop of Gloucester affecting much concern for Dr. Ridley, persuaded him not to indulge an obstinate temper, but recant his erroneous opinions, and return to the unity of the holy Catholic church.

Dr. Ridley coolly replied, he was not vain of his own understanding, but was fully persuaded, that the religion he professed was founded on God's most holy and infallible church; and therefore, he could not abandon or deny the same, consistently with his regard for the honour of God, and the salvation of his immortal soul.

He desired to declare his reasons, why he could not, with a safe conscience, admit of the popish supremacy: but his request was denied.

The bishop finding him inflexible in the faith, according to the doctrine of the reformation, thus addressed him: "Dr. Ridley, it is with the utmost concern that I observe your stubbornness and obstinacy, in persisting in damnable errors and heresies; but unless you recant, I must proceed to the other part of my commission, though very much against my will and desire."

Ridley not making any reply, sentence of condemnation was read; after which he was carried back to confinement.

When Latimer was brought before the court, the bishop of Lincoln informed him, that though they had already taken his answers to certain articles alleged against him, yet they had given him time to consider on the same, and would permit him to make what alterations he should deem fit, hoping, by such means, to reclaim him from his errors, and bring him over to the faith of the holy Catholic church.

The articles were again read to him, but he deviated not, in a single point, from the answers he had already given.

Being again warned to recant, and revoke his errors, he refused, declaring, that he never would deny God's truth, which he was ready to seal with his blood. Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced against him, and he was committed to the custody of the mayor.

The account of the degradation of Ridley, his behaviour before, and at the place of execution, is curious and interesting; we therefore give it at length.

“On the 15th day of October, in the morning, Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr. Marshall, with others of the chief and heads of the same university, and many others accompanying them, came to the house of Mr. Irish, mayor of Oxford, where Dr. Ridley was a close prisoner. And when the bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where Dr. Ridley lay, he told him for what purpose their coming was, saying, ‘That yet once again the queen’s majesty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if he would receive it, and come home again to the faith in

which he was baptized.' And further said, 'That if he would not recant and become one of the Catholie church with them, then they must needs (against their wills) proceed according to the law, which they would be very loath to do, if they might otherwise. But,' said he, 'we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant your fantastical and devilish opinions, which hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good Mr. Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that shall ensue both of body and soul, if you shall so wilfully cast yourself away in refusing mercy offered unto you at this time.'

"'My lord,' said Dr. Ridley, 'you know my mind fully herein: and as for my doctrine, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to God's word (to his glory be it spoken;) and which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall move, and breath is within my body; and in confirmation thereof I am willing to seal the same with my blood.'

"*Brooks.* Well, it were best, Mr. Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the church with us. For you know well enough, that whatsoever is out of the Catholic church cannot be saved. Therefore I say, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the pope's holiness to be the chief head of the church.

"*Ridley.* I marvel that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that anti-christ. And here he would have reasoned with the bishop of Gloucester, concerning the bishop of Rome's authority, but what was not suffered, and yet he spake so earnestly

against the pope therein, that the bishop told him, ‘If he would not hold his peace, he should be compelled. And seeing,’ saith he, ‘that you will not receive the queen’s mercy, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed according to our commission to degrading and depriving you of the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore will the sooner have done with you: so committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow.’

“*Ridley*. Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you; I am well content to abide the same with all my heart.

“*Brooks*. Put off your cap, and put upon you this surplice.

“*Ridley*. Not I truly.

“*Brooks*. “But you must.

“*Ridley*. I will not.

“*Brooks*. You must; therefore, make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you.

“*Ridley*. Truly, if it come upon me it shall be against my will.

“*Brooks*. Will you not put it upon you?

“*Ridley*. No, that I will not.

“*Brooks*. It shall be put upon you, by one or other.

“*Ridley*. Do therein as it shall please you; I am well content with that, and more than that; the servant is not above his master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much doth it become us, his servants! And in saying these words they put upon him a surplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass. As they were about this, Dr. Ridley vehemently inveighed against the Romish bishop, and all

that foolish apparel, calling the first anti-christ, and the last foolish and abominable, 'yea, too foolish for a device in a play.'

"*Brooks*. You had best hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped. At which words one Edridge, the reader of the Greek lecture, standing by, said, 'Sir, the law is that he should be gagged, therefore let him be gagged.' At which words Dr. Ridley looking earnestly upon him, shook his head at him, and made no answer.

"When they came to that place where Dr. Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer cake (called the singing-bread,) Dr. Ridley said, 'They shall not come into my hands; for if they do, they shall fall to the ground for me.' Then one was appointed to hold them in his hand, while bishop Brooks read a part in Latin, touching the degradation of spiritual persons, according to the pope's law.

"They then put the book into his hand, and read another thing in Latin, the effect of which was, 'We do take from thee the office of preaching the gospel, &c. At which words Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, and looking up towards heaven, said, 'O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness.'

"Having put on him the massgear, they began to take it away (beginning with the uppermost garment,) again reading in Latin according to the pope's law. Now when all was taken from him, saving only the surplice, as they were reading and taking it away, Dr. Ridley said unto them, 'Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never a singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had.'

"So when this ridiculous degradation was ended very

solemnly, Dr. Ridley said to Dr. Brooks, 'Have you done? If you have, then give me leave to talk a little concerning these matters.' Brooks answered, 'Mr. Ridley, we must not talk with you; you are out of the church; and our law is, that we must not talk with any out of the church.' Then Dr. Ridley said, 'Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him.'

"They were then going, when Ridley said, 'My lord, I would wish that you would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram's writing, concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you will find much good learning therein, if you will read it with an impartial judgment.' To which Dr. Brooks made no answer, but was going away. Then said Dr. Ridley, 'Oh, I perceive you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well, as it is to no purpose, I will say no more; I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my lord, hear me, and be a means to the queen's majesty, in behalf of a great many poor men, especially my poor sister and her husband, who standeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, when I was in the see of London, which is taken away from them, by him that occupieth the same room, without either law or conscience. I have a supplication to her majesty in their behalf. You shall hear it.' Then he read the same, and when he came to the place that spake of his sister by name, he wept; so that for a time he could not speak for weeping. But recovering himself, he said, 'This is nature, that moveth me, but I have now done;' and with that he finished it, and then delivered it to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queen's

majesty, and to sue not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from them by Dr. Bonner. Dr. Brooks said, 'Indeed, Mr. Ridley, your request in this supplication is very right; therefore I must, in conscience, speak to the queen's majesty for them.'

"*Ridley.* I pray for God's sake so do.

"*Brooks.* I think your request will be granted, except one thing hinder it, and that is because you do not allow the queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same.

"*Ridley.* What remedy? I can do no more than speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience therein, and God's will be done.

"*Brooks.* I will do my best.

"The degradation being concluded, and all things finished, Dr. Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Dr. Ridley, with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Dr. Ridley, in praising God, said, 'God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it would surely be done, I see very well.' Whereunto Brooks said, he played the part of a proud pharisee, exalting himself.

"Dr. Ridley said, 'No, as I said before, to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miserable sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same: therefore I pray you have no such opinion of me.' Then they departed, and in going away, a certain warden of a college advised Dr. Ridley to repent and forsake that erroneous opinion. 'Sir,' said the doctor, 'repent *you*, for you

are out of the truth: and, I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word.' Then the warden, being in a passion thereat, said, 'I trust that I shall never be of your devilish opinion, either yet to be in that place whither you shall go: thou art the most obstinate and wilful man that I ever heard talk since I was born.'

**"BEHAVIOUR OF DR. RIDLEY, THE NIGHT BEFORE HE
SUFFERED.**

"On the night before he suffered, his beard was washed and his legs; and as he sat at supper, at the house of Mr. Irish, his keeper, he invited his hostess, and the rest at the table, to his marriage: for, said he, to-morrow I must be married, and so showed himself to be as merry as ever he had been before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother, sitting at the table, whether he thought she could find in her heart to be there: he answered, 'Yes, I dare say, with all her heart.' At which he said, 'He was glad to hear of her sincerity.' At this discourse Mrs. Irish wept. But Dr. Ridley comforted her, saying, 'O, Mrs. Irish, you love me not, I see well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you are not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself, though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper will be more pleasant and sweet.'

"When they arose from the table, his brother offered to stay all night with him. But he said, 'No, no, that you shall not. For I intend (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to-night, as ever I did.' On

this, his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

“BURNING OF RIDLEY, AND LATIMER.

“On the north side of the town, in the ditch over-against Baliol-college, the place of execution was appointed: and for fear of any tumult that might arise to hinder the burning of the servants of Christ, the lord Williams was commanded by the queen’s letters, and the householders of the city to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed; and when every thing was in readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and bailiffs.

“Dr. Ridley had on a black gown furred, and faced with foins, such as he used to wear when he was a bishop; a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, with a corner cap, and slippers on his feet. He walked to the stake between the mayor and an alderman, &c.

“After him came Mr. Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock much worn, with his buttoned cap and kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging down to the feet: which at the first sight excited sorrow in the spectators, beholding, on the one side, the honour they sometime had; and on the other, the calamity into which they had fallen.

“Dr. Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where Dr. Cranmer lay, hoping to have seen him at the glass window, and spoken to him. But Dr. Cranmer was then engaged in dispute with friar Soto and his fellows, so that he could not see him through that occasion. Dr. Ridley then looking back, saw Mr. Latimer

coming after. Unto whom he said, 'Oh, are you there?' 'Yea,' said Mr. Latimer, 'have after, as fast as I can.' So he following a pretty way off, at length they came to the stake. Dr. Ridley first entering the place, earnestly held up both his hands, looked towards heaven: then shortly after seeing Mr. Latimer with a cheerful look, he ran to him, and embraced him, saying, 'Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it.'

"He then went to the stake, and, kneeling down, prayed with great fervour, while Mr. Latimer, following, kneeled also, and prayed as earnestly as he. After this, they arose and conversed together, and while thus employed, Dr. Smith began his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, in the 13th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians: 'If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby.' Wherein he alleged, that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person: which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford who of late hanged herself, for that they and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately separated their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men who stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics and died out of the church. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon scarcely lasted a quarter of an hour.

"At its conclusion, Dr. Ridley said to Mr. Latimer, 'Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?' Mr.

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Latimer said, 'Begin you first, I pray you?'—'I will,' said Dr. Ridley.

“He then, with Mr. Latimer, kneeled to my lord Williams, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and the other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat upon a form thereby, and said, 'I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words:' and whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know whether he might have leave to speak, the bailiffs, and Dr. Marshal, the vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopping his mouth, said, 'Mr. Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, you shall not only have liberty so to do; but also your life.' 'Not otherwise?' said Dr. Ridley. 'No,' answered Dr. Marshal; 'therefore if you will not do so, there is no remedy: you must suffer for your deserts.' 'Well,' said the martyr, 'so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: God's will be done in me:' with that he rose and said with a loud voice, 'I commit our cause to Almighty God, who will indifferently judge all.'

“To which Mr. Latimer added his old saying, 'Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened;' and said he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered. They were then commanded to prepare, immediately, for the stake.

“They accordingly with all meekness obeyed. Dr. Ridley gave his gown and tippet to his brother-in-law Mr. Shipside, who all the time of his imprisonment, although he was not suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant who kept

him. Some other of his apparel he also gave away, the others the bailiffs took.

“He likewise made presents of other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping; to Sir Henry Lea, he gave a new groat; to my lord Williams’ gentleman; some napkins, &c. and happy was he who could get the least trifle for a remembrance of this good man.

“Mr. Latimer quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other apparel which was very simple; and being stripped to his shroud, he seemed as comely a person as one could well see.

“Then Dr. Ridley standing as yet in his trowse, said to his brother, ‘It were best for me to go in my trowse still.’ ‘No,’ said Mr. Latimer, ‘it will put you to more pain: and it will do a poor man good.’ Whereunto Dr. Ridley said, ‘Be it in the name of God,’ and so unlaced himself. Then being in his shirt, he stood upon the aforesaid stone, and held up his hand and said, ‘O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death; I beseech thee, Lord God, have mercy on this realm of England, and deliver it from all her enemies.’

“Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought it about both their middles: and as he was knocking in the staple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand, and looking aside to the smith, said ‘Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have it’s course.’ Then Mr. Latimer brought him a bag of gunpowder, and tied it about his neck. Dr. Ridley asked him what it was, he answered gunpowder. ‘Then,’ said he, ‘I will take it to be sent of God, therefore I will receive it. And have you any,’ said he, ‘for my brother?’ (meaning Mr. Lati-

mer.) ‘Yea, Sir, that I have,’ said he. ‘Then give it unto him,’ said he, ‘in time, lest you come too late.’ So his brother went and carried it to Mr. Latimer.

“Dr. Ridley said to my lord Williams, ‘My lord, I must be a suitor unto your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and especially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication to the queen in their behalf. I beseech your lordship, for Christ’s sake, to be a means to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, (I praise God) this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me, for the same. Now I hear that the bishop who now occupieth the same room, will not allow my grants made to them, but contrary to all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings. I beseech you, my lord, be a means for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you.’

“They then brought a lighted fagot, and laid it at Dr. Ridley’s feet; upon which Mr. Latimer said, ‘Be of good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man, we shall this day light such a candle by God’s grace in England, as I trust never shall be put out.’ When Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with an amazing loud voice: ‘Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; Lord, receive my spirit;’ and continued often to repeat, ‘Lord, Lord, receive my spirit.’ Mr. Latimer, on the other side, cried as vehemently, ‘O Father of heaven, receive my soul.’ After which he soon died, seemingly with very little pain.

“But Dr. Ridley, from the illmaking of the fire, the fagots being green, and piled too high, so that the flames

being kept down by the green wood, burned fiercely beneath, was put to such exquisite pain, that he desired them, for God's sake, to let the fire come unto him: which his brother-in-law hearing, but not very well understanding, to rid him out of his pain, (for which cause he gave attendance) as one in such sorrow, and not well knowing what he did, heaped fagots upon him, so that he quite covered him, which made the fire so vehement beneath, that it burned all his nether parts before it touched the upper, and made him struggle under the fagots, and often desire them to let the fire come to him, saying, 'I cannot burn.' Yet, in all his torment he forgot not to call upon God, still having in his mouth, 'Lord have mercy upon me,' intermingling his cry, 'Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn.' In which pains he laboured till one of the standers by, with his bill, pulled the fagots from above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself to that side. And when the fire touched the gunpower, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Mr. Latimer's feet; his body being divided.

"The dreadful sight filled almost every eye with tears. Some took it grievously to see their deaths whose lives they had held so dear. Some pitied their persons, who thought their souls had no need thereof. But the sorrow of his brother, whose extreme anxiety had led him to attempt to put a speedy end to his sufferings, but who, from error and confusion, had so unhappily prolonged them, surpassed that of all; and so violent was his grief, that the spectators pitied him almost as much as they did the martyr."

Thus did these two pious divines and steadfast believers, testify, with their blood, the truth of the everlasting gospel, upon which depends all the sinner's hopes

of salvation; to suffer for which was the joy, the glory of many eminent Christians, who, having followed their dear Lord and Master, through much tribulation in this vale of tears, will be glorified for ever with him, in the kingdom of his Father and our Father, of his God and our God.

Mr. Latimer, at the time of his death, was in the eightieth year of his age, and preserved the principles he had professed with the most distinguished magnanimity. He had naturally a happy temper, formed on the principles of true christianity. Such was his cheerfulness, that none of the accidents of life could discompose him: such was his fortitude, that not even the severest trials could unman him; he had a collected spirit, and on no occasion wanted a resource; he could retire within himself, and hold the world at defiance.

And as danger could not daunt, so neither could ambition allure him: though conversant in courts, and intimate with princes, he preserved, to the last, his primæval plainness: in his profession he was indefatigable; and that he might bestow as much time as possible on the active part of it, he allowed himself only those hours for his private studies, when the busy world is at rest, constantly rising, at all seasons of the year, by two in the morning. How conscientious he was in the discharge of the public duties of his office, we have many examples. No man could persuade more forcibly; no man could exert, on proper occasions, a more commanding severity. The wicked, in whatever station, he rebuked with censorial dignity, and awed vice by his firmness, more than the penal laws by their punishments.

He was not esteemed a very learned man, for he cultivated only useful learning; and that he thought lay in a very narrow compass. He never engaged in worldly

affairs, thinking that a clergyman ought to employ himself only in his profession. Thus he lived, rather a good, than what the world calls a great man. He had not those commanding talents which give superiority in business; but for purity and sincerity of heart, for true simplicity of manners, for apostolic zeal in the cause of religion, and for every virtue, both of a public and private kind, which should adorn the life of a Christian, he was eminent beyond most men of his own, or any other time.

As to his sermons, which are still extant, they are, indeed, very far from being correct or elegant compositions, yet his simplicity and low familiarity, his humour and drollery, were well adapted to the times; and his oratory, according to the mode of eloquence at that day, was exceedingly popular. His action, and manner of preaching too, were very affecting; and no wonder; "for he spoke immediately from his heart." His abilities, however, as an orator, made only an inferior part of his character as a preacher. What particularly recommends him, is that noble and apostolic zeal which he continually exerted in the cause of truth.

Mr. Ridley was no less indefatigable in promoting the reformed religion, than his fellow-sufferer Mr. Latimer. He was naturally of a very easy temper, and distinguished for his great piety and humanity to the distressed. He persevered, to the last, in that faith he had professed, and cheerfully resigned his life in defence of the truth of the gospel.

Both these worthy prelates, during their confinement, employed their time in writing various pieces to propagate that gospel to which they had so strictly adhered. They also wrote great numbers of letters to their respective friends and particular acquaintances.

Among the pieces written by Dr. Ridley, was a fare-

well address to the university of Cambridge, and particularly to the members of Pembroke-hall, of which he had been master. He also wrote addresses, of the same nature, to the cities of Rochester, (the see of which he had some time held) Westminster, and London.

These are too long to be here inserted; but the following displays so beautifully the character of a Christian that we give it entire.

**“TO THE PRISONERS IN THE CAUSE OF CHRIST’S GOSPEL,
AND TO ALL WHO FOR THE SAME CAUSE ARE BANISHED
FROM THEIR COUNTRY.**

“Farewell, my dearly beloved brethren in Christ, both you my fellow-prisoners, and you also that be exiled and banished out of your countries, because you will rather forsake all worldly advantages, than the gospel of Christ.

“Farewell all you together in Christ: farewell and be merry, for you know that the trial of your faith bringeth forth patience, and patience shall make us perfect, whole and sound on every side, and such, after trial, ye know, shall receive the crown of life, according to the promise of the Lord made to his dearly beloved: let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the husbandman abideth patiently the former and latter rain for the increase of his crop, so let us be patient, and pluck up our hearts, for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us, my dear brethren, take example of patience in tribulation of the prophets, who likewise spake God’s word truly in his name. Let Job be to us an example of patience, and the end which the Lord suffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We

know, my brethren, by God's word, that our faith is much more precious than any corruptible gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even so our faith is therefore tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord shall appear, laudable, glorious, and honourable. For if we for Christ's cause do suffer, that is grateful before God; for thereunto are we called, that is our state and vocation; wherewith let us be content. Christ, we know, suffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we should follow his foot-steps; for he committed no sin, nor was there any guile found in his mouth: when he was railed upon, and all to be reviled, he railed not again: when he was evil intreated, he did not threaten, but committed the punishment thereof to him that judgeth aright.

“Let us ever have in fresh remembrance those wonderful comfortable sentences spoken by the mouth of our Saviour Christ; blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for their's is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men revile you, persecute you, and speak evil against you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so did they persecute the prophets that were before you. Christ our master hath told us beforehand, that the brother should put the brother to death, and the father the son, and the children should rise against their parents and kill them, and that Christ's true apostles should be hated of all men for his name's sake; but he that abideth patiently unto the end, shall be saved.

“Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our master Christ, and be contented therewith, for he suffered, being our Master and Lord: how doth it then become us to suffer? For the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It

may suffice the disciple to be as his master, and the servant to be as his lord. If they have called the Father of the family, the Master of the household, Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them so of his Household? Fear them not (saith our Saviour) for all hidden things shall be made plain; there is now nothing secret, but it shall be showed in light. Of Christ's words let us neither be ashamed nor afraid to speak them; for so Christ commandeth us, saying, What I tell you privily, speak openly abroad, and what I tell you in your ear, preach upon the house top. And fear not them which kill the body, for the soul they cannot kill; but fear him which can cast both body and soul into hell-fire.

“Know ye that our heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and respect toward you, and a fatherly providence for you, so that without his knowledge and permission nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore cast all our care upon him, he shall provide that which shall be best for us. For if of two small sparrows, which both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our head are numbered, fear not them (saith our master Christ) for you are more worth than many small sparrows. And let us not stick to confess our master Christ for fear of danger, whatsoever it shall be, remembering the promise that Christ maketh, saying, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I confess before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever shall deny me, him shall I likewise deny before my Father which is in heaven. Christ came not to give us here a carnal amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in ease and peace, but rather to separate and divide from the world, and to join them unto himself; in whose cause we must, if we will be his, forsake father and mo-

ther, and stick unto him. If we forsake him or shrink from him for trouble or death sake, which he calleth his cross; he will none of us, we cannot be his. If for his cause we shall lose our temporal lives here, we shall find them again, and enjoy them for ever more: but if, in this cause, we will not be contented to leave nor lose them here, then shall we lose them so, that we shall never find them again, but in everlasting death. What though our troubles here are painful for the time, and the sting of death bitter and unpleasant; yet we know that they shall not last, in comparison of eternity, no not the twinkling of an eye, and that they, patiently taken in Christ's cause, shall procure and get us unmeasurable heaps of heavenly glory, unto which these temporal pains of death and troubles compared, are not to be esteemed, but to be rejoiced upon. Wonder not, saith St. Peter, as though it were any strange matter that ye are tried by the fire, he meaneth of tribulation, which thing, saith he, is done to prove you; nay, rather in that ye are partners of Christ's afflictions, rejoice that in his glorious revelation ye may rejoice with merry hearts. If ye suffer rebukes in Christ's name, happy are ye, for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and dishonoured, but of you he is glorified.

“Let no man be ashamed of that which he suffereth as a Christian, and in Christ's cause: for now is the time that judgment and correctness must begin at the house of God: and if it begin first at us, what shall be the end of those, think ye, that believe not the gospel? And if the righteous shall be hardly saved, the wicked and the sinner, where shall he appear? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their souls to him by well doing, as to

a trusty and faithful Maker. This, as I said, may not seem strange to us, for we know that all the whole fraternity of Christ's congregation in this world is served with the like, and by the same is made perfect. For the fervent love that the apostles had unto their master Christ, and for the great advantages and increase of all godliness which they felt by their faith to issue of afflictions in Christ's cause, and also for the heaps of heavenly joys which the same do get unto the godly, which shall endure in heaven for evermore; for these causes (I say) the apostles did joy of their afflictions, and rejoiced in that they were had and accounted worthy to suffer contumelies and rebukes for Christ's name. And St. Paul, as he glorieth in the grace and favour of God, whereunto he was brought and stood in by faith; so he rejoiced in his afflictions for the heavenly and spiritual profits which he numbered to rise upon them: yea, he was so far in love with what the cardinal man loathed so much, that is, with Christ's cross, that he judged himself to know nothing else but Christ crucified: he will glory, he saith, in nothing else but in Christ's cross, yea, and he blesseth all those as the only true Israelites, and elect people of God, with peace and mercy, which walk after that rule, and after no other.

"O Lord, what a wonderful spirit was that, that made Paul, in setting forth of himself against the vanity of satan's false apostles, and in his claim there, that he, in Christ's cause, did excel and surpass them all? What wonderful spirit was that, I say, that made him to reckon up all his troubles, his labours, his beatings, his whippings and scourgings, his shipwrecks, his dangers and perils by water and by land, his famine, hunger, nakedness and cold, with many more, and the daily care of all the congregations of Christ, among whom every man's

pains did pierce his heart, and every man's grief was grievous unto him?

“O Lord, is this Paul's primacy, whereof he thought so much good that he did excel others? Is not this Paul's saying unto Timothy his own scholar? and doth it not pertain to whosoever will be Christ's true soldiers? Bear thou, saith he, affliction, like a true soldier of Jesus Christ. This is true; if we die with him (he meaneth Christ) we shall live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; if we deny him, he shall deny us; if we be faithless, he remaineth faithful, he cannot deny himself. This, Paul would have known to every body; for there is no other way to heaven but Christ and his way; and all that will live godly in Christ, shall (saith St. Paul) suffer persecution. By this way went to heaven the patriarchs, the prophets, Christ our master, his apostles, his martyrs, and all the godly since the beginning. And as it hath been of old, that he which was born after the flesh, persecuted him who was born after the Spirit, for so it was in Isaac's time; so said St. Paul, it was in his time also. And whether it be so now or no, let the spiritual man, the self-same man, I mean, that is endued with the Spirit of Almighty God, let him be judge. Of the cross of the patriarchs, as ye may read in their stories, if ye read the book of Genesis, ye shall perceive. Of others, St. Paul in a few words comprehended much matter, speaking in a generality of the wonderful afflictions, death, and torments which the men of God, in God's cause, and for the truth's sake, willingly and gladly did suffer. After much particular rehearsal of many, he saith, Others were racked and despised, and would not be delivered, that they might obtain a better resurrection. Others again were tried with mockings and scourgings, and

moreover with bonds and imprisonments; they were stoned, hewn asunder, tempted, fell, and were slain upon the edge of the sword; some wandered to and fro in sheep skins, in goat skins, forsaken, oppressed, afflicted, such godly men as the world was unworthy of, wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in caves, and in dens, and all these were commended for their faith. And yet they abide for us the servants of God, and for those their brethren which are to be slain as they were for the word of God's sake, that none be shut out, but that we may all go together to meet our master Christ in the air at his coming, and so be in bliss with him in body and soul for evermore.

“Therefore seeing we have so much occasion to suffer, and to take afflictions for Christ's name's sake patiently, so many advantages thereby, so weighty causes, so many good examples, so great necessity, so pure promises of eternal life and heavenly joys of him that cannot lie: let us throw away whatever might hinder us, all burden of sin, and all kind of carnality, and patiently and constantly let us run for the best game in this race that is set before us, ever having our eyes upon Jesus Christ, the captain and perfecter of our faith, who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, not minding the shame and ignominy thereof, and is set now at the right hand of the throne of God. Consider this, that he suffered such strife of sinners against himself, that ye should not give over nor faint in your minds. As yet, brethren, we have not withstood unto death fighting against sin. Let us never forget, dear brethren, for Christ's sake, that fatherly exhortation of the wise man that speaketh unto us, as unto his children, the godly wisdom of God, saying thus; My son, despise not the correction of the Lord, nor fall from him when thou art

rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct, and scourgeth every child whom he receiveth. What child is he whom the father doth not chasten? If ye be free from chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and no children. Seeing then, when as we have hard carnal parents which chastened us, we revered them, shall not we much more be subject unto our spiritual Father that we might live? And they for a little time have taught us after their own mind, but this Father teacheth us to our advantage, to give unto us his holiness. All chastisement for the present time appeareth not pleasant but painful; but afterwards it rendereth the fruit of righteousness on them which are exercised in it. Wherefore let us be of good cheer, good brethren, and let us pluck up our feeble members that were fallen or begun to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the rest, and let us walk upright and straight, that no limping nor halting bring us out of the way. Let us not look upon the things that be present; but, with the eyes of our faith, let us steadfastly behold the things that be everlasting in heaven, and so choose rather in respect of that which is to come, with the chosen members of Christ to bear Christ's cross, than for this short life-time enjoy all the riches, honours, and pleasures of the broad world. Why should we Christians fear death? Can death deprive us of Christ, which is all our comfort, our joy, and our life? Nay, forsooth. But contrary, death shall deliver us from this mortal body, which loadeth and beareth down the spirit, that it cannot so well perceive heavenly things; in which so long as we dwell, we are absent from God.

“Wherefore understanding our state in that we be Christians, that if our mortal body, which is our earthly house, were destroyed, we have a building, a house not

made with hands, eternal in the heavens, therefore we are of good cheer, and know that when we are in the body, we are absent from God; for we walk by faith, and not by sight. Nevertheless we are bold, and had rather be absent from the body, and present with God. Wherefore we strive, whether we be present at home, or absent abroad, that we may always please him: and who that hath true faith in our Saviour Christ, whereby he knoweth somewhat truly what Christ our Saviour is, that he is the eternal Son of God, life, light, the wisdom of the Father, all goodness, all righteousness, and whatsoever is good that heart can desire, yea, infinite plenty of all these, above what man's heart can either conceive or think (for in him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead corporally,) and also that he is given us of the Father, and made of God to be our wisdom, our righteousness, our holiness, and our redemption: who (I say) is he that believeth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his master Christ? Paul for this knowledge coveted to have been loosed from the body, and to have been with Christ, for he counted it much better for himself, and had rather be loosed than to live. Therefore, these words of Christ to the thief on the cross, that asked of him mercy, were full of comfort and solace: 'This day thou shalt be with me in paradise.' To die in the defence of Christ's gospel, it is our bounden duty to Christ, and also to our neighbour. To Christ, because he died for us, and rose again that he might be Lord over all. And seeing he died for us, we also, saith St. John, should hazard, yea give our life for our brethren, and this kind of giving and losing, is getting and winning indeed: for he that giveth or loseth his life thus, getteth and winneth it for evermore. Blessed are they therefore that die in the Lord, and if they die in the Lord's cause,

they are most happy of all. Let us not then fear death, which can do us no harm, otherwise than for a moment to make the flesh to smart; but that our faith, which is fastened and fixed upon the word of God, telleth us that we shall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, in joy, in solace, and that from death we shall go straight unto life. For St. John saith, He that liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die. And in another place, He shall depart from death unto life. And therefore this death of the Christian is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entrance into everlasting life. Therefore, Paul calleth it but a dissolution and change, and both Peter and Paul, a putting off this tabernacle or dwelling house: meaning thereby the mortal body, as wherein the soul or spirit doth dwell here in this world for a small time. Yea, this my death may be called, to the Christian, an end of all miseries. For so long as we live here, we must pass through many tribulations before we can enter into the kingdom of heaven. And now, after that death hath shot his bolt, all the Christian man's enemies have done what they can; after that they have no more to do. What could hurt or harm poor Lazarus that lay at the rich man's gate? his former penury and poverty? his misery, beggary, and horrible sores and sickness? No; as soon as death had struck him with his dart, so soon came the angels, and carried him straight up into Abraham's bosom. What lost he by death, who from misery and pain was conducted, by the ministry of angels, into a place of joy and felicity?

“Farewell, dear brethren, farewell; let us comfort our hearts in all troubles, and in death, with God's word, for heaven and earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

“Farewell, Christ's dearly beloved spouse, here wan-

dering in this world in a strange land, encompassed about with deadly enemies, who see thy destruction.

“Farewell, farewell, O ye, the whole universal congregation of the chosen of God here living upon earth, the true church militant of Christ, the true mystical body of Christ, the very household and family of God, and the sacred temple of the Holy Ghost, farewell.

“Farewell, O thou little flock of the high heavenly pastors of Christ, for to you it hath pleased the heavenly Father to give an everlasting and eternal kingdom. Farewell.

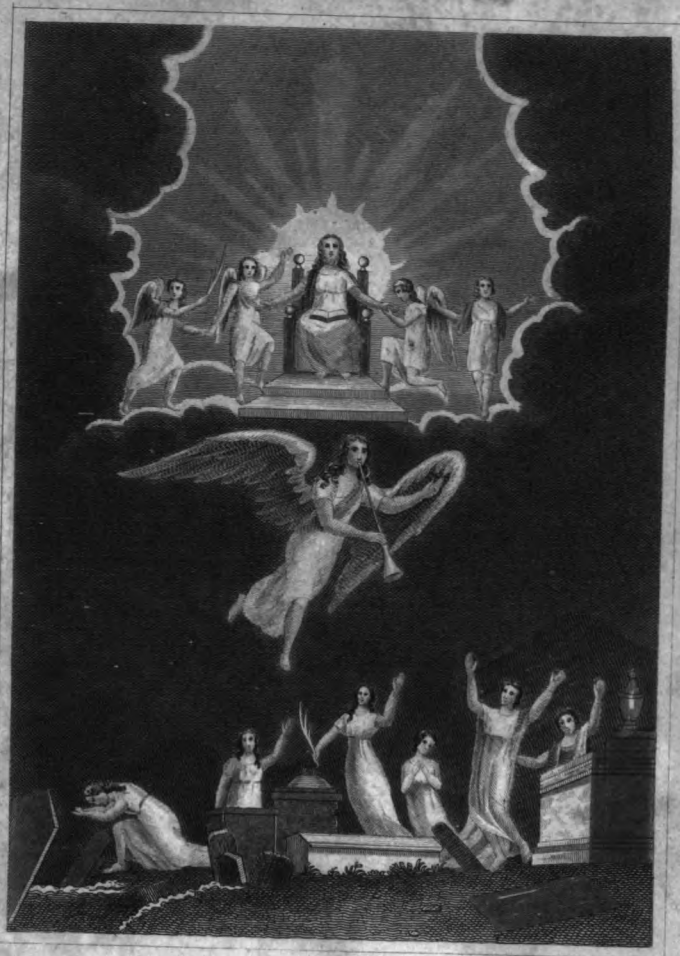
“Farewell, thou spiritual house of God, thou holy and royal priesthood, thou chosen generation, thou holy nation, thou won spouse. Farewell, farewell.”

SECTION IV.

HISTORY OF THOMAS WHITTLE, BARTLET GREEN, JOHN TUDSON, JOHN WENT, THOMAS BROWNE, ISABEL FOSTER, AND JOAN WARNE, OTHERWISE LASHFORD, WHO WERE ALL BURNED AT SMITHFIELD, JANUARY 27, 1556.

The above martyrs were all condemned under one general form of articles objected against them, and which ran, as usual, upon the common points of doctrine, namely, their denial of the pope's supremacy; their objections to the errors of the mass, &c. in the Romish church, and their refusal to attend the same, with their public avowal of their abhorrence to the whole. They severally answered to the various objections with all the boldness and simplicity of truth.

We shall give a brief relation of their stories, beginning with



SECOND COMING OF CHRIST.

THE REV. THOMAS WHITTLE.

Mention has been made in the account of Mr. Philpot, of a married priest, whom he found in bishop Bonner's coal-house at his first going thither, in heaviness of mind and great sorrow, for recanting the doctrine he had taught in king Edward's days, whose name was Thomas Whittle of Essex. This Thomas Whittle, after he had been expelled from the place in Essex where he served, became an itinerant preacher, sowing the gospel of Christ, wherever he found opportunity. At length being apprehended by one Edmund Alabaster, in hope of reward and promotion, he was brought first as prisoner before the bishop of Winchester, who then was lately fallen sick of the disease, whereof not long after he died. But the apprehender for his proffered service was checked by the bishop, who asked, "If there were no man unto whom he might bring such rascals, but to him? Hence! out of my sight, thou varlet," cried he; "why dost thou trouble me with such matters?" The cormorant being thus defeated of his desired prey, yet unwilling to give it up, carried his prisoner to the bishop of London, by whom Whittle was cruelly treated, as appears from the following letter to one of his friends.

"Upon Thursday, which was the tenth of January, the bishop of London sent for me, Thomas Whittle, minister, out of the porter's lodge, where I had been all night, lying on the earth, on a little low bed, where I had as painful a night of sickness as ever I had. And when I came before him, he talked with me upon many things of the sacrament so grossly, as is not worthy to be rehearsed. And amongst other things, he asked me, if I would have come to mass that morning if he had

sent for me. I answered, that I would have come to him at his commandment, but to your mass (said I) I have small affection. At which answer he was sore displeased, and said, I should be fed with bread and water. And as I followed him through the great hall, he turned back, and beat me with his fist, first on the one cheek, and then on the other, as the sign of my beating did many days appear. And then he led me to a little salt-house, where I had neither straw nor bed, but lay two nights on a table, and slept soundly.

“On the Friday after, I was brought to my lord, when he gave me many fair words, and said he would be good to me. And so he going to Fulham, committed me to Dr. Harpsfield, that he and I, in that afternoon, should commune together, and draw out certain articles, whereunto if I would subscribe, I should be dismissed. But Dr. Harpsfield sent not for me till night, and then persuaded me very much to forsake my opinions. I answered, I held nothing but the truth, and therefore I could not so lightly turn therefrom. So I thought I should at that time have had no more ado: but he had made a certain bill, which the register pulled out of his bosom, and read. The bill indeed was very easily made, and therefore more dangerous; for the effect thereof was to detest all errors and heresies against the sacrament of the altar, and other sacraments, and to believe the faith of the Catholic church, and live accordingly.

“To this bill I did also set my hand, being much desired and counselled so to do; and the flesh being always desirous to have liberty, I considered not thoroughly the inconvenience that might come thereupon; and respite I desired to have had, but earnestly they desired me to subscribe. Now when I had done so, I had little joy thereof; for by and by my mind and conscience told me

by God's word that I had done evil, by such a slight means to shake off the sweet cross of Christ; and yet it was not my seeking, as God knoweth, but altogether came of them.

"The night after I had subscribed I was sore grieved, and for sorrow of conscience could not sleep. For in the deliverance of my body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but still was in my conscience tormented more and more, being assured by God's Spirit and his word, that I through evil counsel and advice had done amiss. And both with disquietude of mind, and my other cruel handling, I was sickly; lying upon the ground when the keeper came; and so I desired him to pray Dr. Harpsfield to come to me, and so he did.

"And when he came, and the register with him, I told him that I was not well at ease, but that I was grieved very much in my conscience and mind because I had subscribed. And I said that my conscience had so accused me, through the just judgment of God and his word, that I had felt hell in my conscience, and Satan ready to devour me; and therefore I pray you, Mr. Harpsfield, (said I,) let me have the bill again, for I will not stand to it. So he gently commanded it to be fetched, and gave it me, and suffered me to put out my name, whereof I was right glad when I had so done, although death should follow. And hereby I had experience of God's providence and mercy towards me, who trieth his people, and suffereth them to fall, but not to be lost: for in the midst of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and also delivered me; his name be praised for evermore. Amen.

"Neither devil nor cruel tyrant can pluck any of Christ's sheep out of his hand. Of which flock of Christ's

sheep I trust undoubtedly I am one, by means of his death and blood-shedding, and shall at the last day stand at his right hand, and receive with others his blessed benediction. And now, being condemned to die, my conscience and mind, I praise God, is quiet in Christ, and I by his grace am very willing and content to give over this body to the death, for the testimony of his truth and pure religion, against anti-christ and all his false religion and doctrine.

By me,

“THOMAS WHITTLE, Minister.”

CONDEMNATION AND MARTYRDOM OF MR. WHITTLE.

At his last examination before the bishop upon the 14th day of January, 1556, bishop Bonner, with others, sitting in his consistory in the afternoon, first called forth Thomas Whittle, with whom he began as follows: “Because you be a priest,” said he, “as I and other bishops here be, and did receive the order of priesthood after the rite and form of the Catholic church, you shall not think but I will administer justice as well unto you as unto others.”

Bonner then charged him with the several articles mentioned above, to which Whittle made spirited and pertinent replies: when the bishop, finding that neither threats nor entreaties had any effect on him, forthwith proceeded to his degradation.

Whittle, in the midst of the ceremonies, when he saw them so busy in degrading him, said unto them, “Paul and Titus had not so much to do with their priests and bishops.” And, speaking to the bishop, he said, “My lord, your religion standeth most with the church of Rome, and not with the Catholic church of Christ.”

The bishop, after this, according to his accustomed formal proceedings, tried him yet again with words, rather than with substantial arguments, to conform him to his religion, and asked, what fault he found in the administration of the sacrament of the altar?

Whittle answered, "It is not used according to Christ's institution, in that it is privately and not openly done. And also because it is administered but in one kind to the lay-people, which is against Christ's ordinance. Farther, Christ commanded it not to be elevated nor adored: for the adoration and elevation cannot be proved by Scripture."

"Well," said Bonner, "my lords here, and other learned men, have showed great learning for thy conversion, wherefore if thou wilt yet return to the faith and religion of the Catholic church, I will receive thee thereunto, and not commit thee to the secular power." But Whittle, strengthened with the grace of the Lord, stood strong and immovable in what he had affirmed. Wherefore the sentence being read, the next day he was committed to the secular power, and in a few days after brought to the fire with the six persons abovenamed, sealing the testimony of his doctrine with his blood, which he willingly and cheerfully gave for witness of the truth.

BARTLET GREEN,

Was of a respectable family, and was blessed with parents who, understanding the value of a good education, were anxious to bestow one upon their son. After having been placed at preparatory schools, he was sent to the university of Oxford, where, by his diligence, he made great advances in his studies; but was, for a time,

so far from feeling any interest in eternal things, that he was utterly averse to the subject. At length, by attending the lectures of Peter Martyr, then reader of the divinity-lecture, his mind was struck with the importance of religion.

When he had once tasted of this, it became unto him as the fountain of living water, that our Saviour Christ spake of to the woman of Samaria; insomuch that when he was called by his friends from the university, and was placed in the Temple at London, there to study the common laws of the realm, he still continued, with great earnestness, to read and search the scriptures.

But, (such is the frailty of our corrupt nature, without the special assistance of God's Holy Spirit) through the continual fellowship of such worldly youth as are commonly in that and the like places, he became by little and little a partaker in their follies, as well in his apparel, as also in banquetings, and other superfluous excesses: which he afterwards bewailed sorely, as appears by his own testimony, left in a book belonging to Mr. Bartram Calthorpe, one of his friends, written a little before his death, as follows:

“Two things have very much troubled me while I was in the Temple, pride and gluttony; which under the colour of glory and good fellowship, drew me almost from God. Against both there is one remedy, by earnest prayer, and without ceasing. And forasmuch as vain glory is so subtle an adversary, that almost it woundeth deadly, ere ever a man can perceive himself to be smitten, therefore we ought so much the rather by continual prayer to labour for humbleness of mind. Truly, gluttony beginneth under a charitable pretence of mutual love and society, and hath in it most uncharitableness. When we seek to refresh our bodies, that they may be

more apt to serve God, and perform our duties towards our neighbours, then it stealeth in as a privy thief, and murdereth both body and soul, that now it is not apt to pray, or serve God, apt to study or labour for our neighbour. Let us therefore watch and be sober: for our adversary the devil walketh about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.

“Agreement of minds joining in unity of faith, and growing up in charity, is true and steadfast amity. Farewell, my Bartram, and remember me, that ever we may be like together. Farewell; at Newgate, Jan. 26, 1556.

“Set sober love against hasty wrath.

“BARTLET GREEN.”

Thus we see the fatherly kindness of our most gracious and merciful God, who never suffereth his elect children so to fall, that they lie still in security of sin, but oftentimes quickeneth them up by such means, as perhaps they think least of. And now to return to our history: for the better maintenance of himself in his studies, and other his affairs, he had a large allowance of his grandfather, Dr. Bartlet, who during the time of Green's imprisonment made him offers of great livings, if he would recant, and return to the church of Rome. But his persuasions took no effect in his grandson's faithful heart. He was a man beloved of all (except the papists, who esteem none that love the truth,) and so he well deserved; for he was of a meek, humble, discreet, and gentle behaviour to all, injurious to none, beneficial to many, especially to those who were of the household of faith.

The cause of Mr. Green's sufferings originated from a letter of his being intercepted. This letter was written to an exiled friend, who having, in a letter to Mr

Green, amongst other things, asked whether the queen was dead, as a report of that nature had been circulated on the continent; Mr. Green, after answering other questions, briefly said in his letter—" *the queen is not dead.*"

These letters, with many others, written to the godly exiles, by their friends in England, being delivered to a messenger to carry over, came, by the apprehension of the bearer, into the hands of the council; who perused the whole of them, and amongst them found that of Mr. Green, written to his friend Christopher Goodman; in the contents whereof they found the words, mentioned above; which words were only written as a simple answer to a question. Howbeit, to some of the council they seemed very heinous words, yea, treason they would have made them, if the law would have suffered. Which when they could not do, they then examined him upon his faith in religion.

His answers displeased them; he was committed to prison, and, after being confined for some time, was, at length, sent to bishop Bonner.

Many conferences and examinations they brought him to. But in the end (seeing his steadiness of faith to be such that neither their threatenings, nor their flattering promises could prevail against it,) the 15th day of January the bishop caused him, with the others before mentioned, to be brought into the consistory, of St. Paul's; where being set in his judgment seat, accompanied by Fecknam, his dean, and his chaplains, after he had condemned the other six, he called for Bartlet Green, and again repeated the articles to him. After which Dr. Fecknam disputed with him upon the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, &c. At length, impatient of longer delay, Bonner demanded if he would recant and return to

his Romish mother; and on his answering in the negative, he pronounced the definitive sentence against him, and then committed him to the sheriffs of London, who sent him to Newgate.

As he was going thither, two gentlemen met him, particular friends, who wished to comfort this their persecuted brother, but their hearts not being able to contain their sorrow, "Ah, my dear friends," said the martyr, "is this the comfort you are come to give me, in this my occasion of heaviness? Must I, who needed to have consolation ministered to me, become now a comforter of you?" And thus declaring his most quiet peaceable mind and conscience, he cheerfully spake to them and others, until he came to the prison door, into which he joyfully entered, and there remained either in prayer or meditation until the 28th of January, when he, with his brethren, went most cheerfully to the place of their torments.

THOMAS BROWN,

Was born in the parish of Histon, in the diocese of Ely, and came afterwards to London, where he dwelt in the parish of St. Bride's, in Fleet-street. He was a married man, aged thirty-seven, and his troubles first arose because he came not to his parish church, for which neglect he was presented by the constable of the parish to bishop Bonner. Being brought to Fulham with the others to be examined, he was required to come into the chapel to hear mass, which he refusing to do, went into the warren, and there kneeled among the trees. For this he was greatly charged by the bishop as for an heinous matter, because he said it was done in despite and contempt of their mass. At length being brought

to his last examination before the said bishop, on the 15th of January, there to hear the definitive sentence against him, he was required, with many fair words and glossing promises, to revoke his doctrine. But he resisted with steadfast faith, and told the bishop he was a blood-sucker.

After this, Bonner read the sentence against him ; which being done, he was committed to the sheriffs to be burned on the day appointed.

JOHN TUDSON,

Was also brought forth unto the like condemnation. He was born in Ipswich, and apprenticed in London to George Goodyear. Being complained of to Sir Richard Cholmley and Dr. Story, he was by them sent to Bonner, and was divers times before him in examination.

On his last examination, when the bishop promised, on condition of his recanting, to forgive him all his offences, he demanded wherein he had offended. Then said the bishop, "In your answers." "No," replied Tudson, "I have not therein offended; and you, my lord, pretend charity, but nothing thereof appeareth in your works." Thus, after a few words, the bishop pronounced against him sentence of condemnation; which being read, the martyr was committed to the secular power, and so with much patience finished this life with his fellows on the 27th day of January.

JOHN WENT,

Born in Langham, in Essex, was twenty-seven years of age. He was first examined by Dr. Story upon the

sacrament of the altar; and because the poor man did not accord with him thoroughly in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, Dr. Story sent him to Bonner, who likewise, after various examinations upon the articles in the consistory, attempted the like manner of persuasions with him as he did to the others, to recant and return. To whom, in very few words, Went answered, "He would not; but that, by the leave of God, he would stand firm and constant in what he had said." Whereupon being condemned by the bishop's sentence, he was committed unto the sheriffs, and so brought to his martyrdom, which he with no less constancy suffered to the end, with the rest of that blessed society.

ISABEL FOSTER,

Was born in Grafestock, in the diocese of Carlisle, and was the wife of John Foster, cutler, of St. Bride's, Fleet-street. She likewise, for not coming to their church, was sent to bishop Bonner, who put her in prison, and examined her sundry times, but she would never be removed from the constant confession of Christ's gospel.

At length, coming unto her final examination before the bishop, she was tried again, whether she would yet go from her former answers. Whereunto she gave a resolute answer; "I will not," said she, "go from them, by God's grace." The bishop, promising both life and liberty, if she would associate herself in the unity of the Catholic church, she said again, "That she trusted she was never out of the Catholic church; and so persisting in the same, continued constant till the sentence was

pronounced, when she was committed by command of the bishop to the secular power, and so brought a few days after to the stake, being fifty-five years of age.

JOAN LASHFORD, ALIAS WARNE,

Was the daughter of Elizabeth Warne, by her first husband, Robert Lashford. The reader may remember the story of John and Elizabeth Warne, who both suffered for the cause of truth, as related in a former part of this book; and when her father and mother were in prison, Joan, then about twenty years of age, attended upon them and administered to their wants with all the tenderness and affection of a dutiful child. She was soon discovered to hold the same doctrines as her parents, and was, in consequence, sent to Bonner, bishop of London, by Dr. Story, and so committed to the Poultry Compter, where she remained about five weeks, and from thence she was conveyed to Newgate, where she continued some months.

After that, remaining prisoner in the custody of Bonner, and being examined, her confession was, that for above a twelvemonth before, she came not to the popish mass service in church, neither would, either to receive the sacrament of the altar, or to be confessed, because her conscience would not suffer her so to do; protesting against the real presence of Christ's body and blood; and denying that auricular confession, or absolution after the popish sort, was necessary; but said, that both the said sacraments, confession, and absolution, and the mass, with all their other superfluous sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service, as then used in this realm of England, were most vile, and contrary to Christ's

word and institution; so that they were neither at the beginning, nor shall be at the latter end. This resolute maid, feeble and tender of age, yet strong by grace in her confession and faith, stood so firm, that neither the promises nor the threats of the bishops could turn her: and on being exhorted by the bishop to return to the Catholic unity of the church, she boldly said, "If you will leave off your abomination, I will return, and otherwise I will not. Do as it pleaseth you, and I pray God that you may do that which may please him."

And thus, she constantly persevering in the truth, was condemned and committed to the sheriffs, by whom she, with the rest, was brought unto the stake, and there washed her clothes in the blood of the Lamb.

THEIR MARTYRDOMS.

On the 27th of January, 1556, these seven believers in, and faithful servants of Christ, were conducted from Newgate to Smithfield, there to endure the last torments that could be inflicted on them by their cruel persecutors. They all went with great cheerfulness, singing hymns to the praise of their Redeemer, both in the way to, and at the place of execution. Bartlet Green, in particular, frequently repeated the following lines:

O Christ, my God, sure hope of health,
Besides thee have I none:
The truth I love, and falsehood hate;
Be thou my guide alone.

They were chained to three different stakes, but consumed together in one fire, freely yielding up their lives

in testimony of the truth, and sealing, with their blood, the doctrines of that gospel they had so zealously supported.

Two of these noble martyrs, namely, Thomas Whittle, and Bartlet Green, wrote a great number of letters, to their friends and acquaintances, during their confinement; and as we have already given an extract from one of Green's, we now present one written by Mr. Whittle.

“My dear and well-beloved brethren in Christ, Mr. Filles and Cuthbert, I wish you all welfare of soul and body. Welfare to the soul is repentance of sin, faithful affiance in Christ Jesus, and a godly life. Welfare to the body is the health of the same, with all necessary things for this life. The soul of man is immortal, and, therefore, ought to be well kept, lest immortality of joy should turn to immortality of sorrow. As for the body, be it never so well kept, and much made of, yet shortly, by nature, will it perish and decay: but those that are ingrafted and incorporated into Christ by true faith, feeling the motion of God's Holy Spirit, as a pledge of their election and inheritance, exciting and stirring them not only to seek heavenly things, but also to hate vice, and embrace virtue, will not only do these things, but also, if need require, will gladly take up their cross, and follow their captain, their king and their Saviour Jesus Christ, (as his poor afflicted church of England now doth) against that false and anti-christian doctrine and religion now used, and especially that blasphemous mass, wherein Christ's Supper, and holy ordinance, is altogether perverted and abused, contrary to his institution, and to Paul's proceedings: so that that which they have in their

mass, is neither sacrament of Christ, nor yet sacrifice for sin, as the priests falsely pretend. It is a sacrament, that is, as St. Augustine saith, 'A visible sign of invisible grace,' when it is administered to the communicants according to Christ's example, and as it was, of late years, in this realm. And as for sacrifice, there is none to be made now for sin: 'For Christ, with one sacrifice, hath perfected for ever those that are sanctified.'

"Beware of false religion, and men's vain traditions, and serve God with reverence and godly fear, according to the doctrine of his gospel; whereto cleave ye that ye may be blessed, though of wicked men ye are hated and accursed. Rather drink of the cup of Christ with his church, than of the cup of that rose-coloured whore of Babylon, which is full of abominations. Rather strive ye to go to heaven by the path which is straight to flesh and blood, with the little flock, than to go in the wide way, following the enticements of the world and the flesh, which leadeth to damnation.

"Like as Christ suffered in the flesh, saith St. Peter, so arm ye yourselves with the same mind: for Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example to follow his footsteps. Blessed are they that suffer for his sake; great is their reward in heaven. He that overcometh (saith St. John, Rev. 2, 3,) shall eat of the tree of life; he shall have a crown of life, and not be hurt of the second death: he shall be clothed with white array, and not be put out of the book of life; yea, I will confess his name, saith Christ, before my Father, and before his angels, and he shall be a pillar in the house of God, and sit with me on my seat. And thus I bid you farewell, mine

own brethren, and dear fellows in Christ; whose grace and peace be always with you. Amen.

This world I do forsake,
To Christ I me take,
And for his gospel's sake,
Patiently death I take.
My body to the dust,
Now to return it must;
My soul, I know full well,
With my God it shall dwell.

“THOMAS WHITTLE.”

SECTION V.

HISTORY OF JOHN LOMAS, ANNE ALBRIGHT, JOAN CATMER,
AGNES SNOTH, AND JOAN SOLE, WHO WERE BURNT AT
CANTERBURY IN ONE FIRE.

These martyrs suffered for the truth of the gospel on the 31st day of January, 1556.

JOHN LOMAS,

Of the parish of Tenterden, was discovered to be of that religion which the papists call heresy, and cited upon the same to appear at Canterbury, where he was examined there as to whether he believed the Catholic church or not; he answered, that “he believed so much as was contained in God’s book and no more.”

He was then ordered to appear again on the following Wednesday, which was the 17th day of January, when he was examined, whether he would be confessed by a

priest or not; he said, that "he found it not written that he should be confessed to any priest, in God's book, neither would he be confessed, unless he were accused, by some man, of sin." Again, being examined whether he believed the body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar really under the forms of bread and wine after the consecration? He answered, that "he believed no reality of Christ's body to be in the sacrament; neither found he written, that he is there under form or trestle, but he believed so much as was written." Being then asked whether he believed that there was a Catholic church or no, and whether he would be content to be a member of the same, he answered, that "he believed so much as was written in God's book," and other answer than this he refused to give. Whereupon sentence was read against him on the 18th of January, and so he was committed to the secular power, and, afterwards, suffered for the true faith, with the four women following.

AGNES SNOTH,

Was a widow, of the parish of Smarden, and was likewise cited and accused for her faith. She was divers times examined, and being compelled to answer to such articles and interrogatories as should be administered unto her, she first denied to be confessed to a priest. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, she protested that if she or any other did receive the sacrament so as Christ and his apostles after him did deliver it, then she and they did receive it to their comfort: but as it is now used in the church, she said that no man could otherwise receive it than to his damnation, as she thought. Afterwards, being examined again concerning penance, whether

it were a sacrament or not, she plainly denied it. Whereupon the sentence being likewise read, she was committed to the sheriffs of Canterbury, and suffered with her faithful companions.

ANNE ALBRIGHT.

This female, strong in her belief, on appearing before the judge and his colleagues, told them, that "she would not be confessed by a priest." And speaking to the judge and his assistants, she told them that they were subverters of Christ's truth.

And concerning the sacrament of the altar, she said "it was a wicked and abominable idol." Thus persevering in her former sayings and answers, she was condemned on the 18th of January, and suffered with the others before-mentioned.

JOAN SOLE,

Was of the parish of Horton, and was accused by the priests of denying auricular confession, and the real presence and substance of Christ to be in the sacrament. She was accordingly condemned and brought to the stake.

JOAN CATMER,

The fifth and last of this little company of martyrs, was of the parish of Hith, wife of George Catmer, who had suffered before. She, also refusing to be confessed by a priest, and denying the bodily presence in the sacrament, was, in consequence, condemned and burnt.

These five steadfast servants of God, and willing followers of Christ, were bound together at two stakes, rejoicing in the flames, and chaunting hallelujahs to God and the Lamb, who had given them the victory over all their enemies, and a good hope, through grace, that when this earthly tabernacle was dissolved, they should have a house, not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens.

SECTION VI.

MARTYRDOM OF THREE WOMEN AND AN INFANT, IN
GUERNSEY.

Of all the singular and tragical histories in this book, nothing can be more barbarous, if any thing can equal, the inhumanity of this execution upon three women and an infant, whose names were Catherine Cawches, the mother; Guillemine Gilbert, and Perotine Massey, her daughters; and an infant, the son of Perotine.

These innocent victims of popish cruelty owed their suffering to the following circumstances. A woman, named Gosset, having stolen a cup, took it to Mrs. Massey, who lived with her mother and sister, and requested of her to lend her six-pence upon it. The latter, suspecting the theft, at first refused; but thinking she would return it to the owner, whom she knew, in order to prevent Gosset's taking it elsewhere, gave her the six-pence, and made known the affair to the owner, who charging the offender with her crime, she confessed, and the cup was, accordingly, restored. On a pretended suspicion, however, that Mrs. Massey, with her mother

and sister, was a sharer in the crime, they were accordingly imprisoned and brought to trial, when it evidently appeared that they were perfectly innocent. It was found, however, that they did not attend the *church*, and on further investigation, they were discovered to be, in the judgment of the papists, heretics; and they were, consequently, condemned to be burnt.

After sentence was pronounced, the hapless women appealed to the king, queen, and council, saying, "That against reason and right they were condemned, and for that cause they made their appeal;" their persecutors, however, refused to receive their appeal, but delivered them to the officers, for execution according to their sentence.

The day being come when these innocents should suffer, July 18, 1556, in the place where they stood to consummate their martyrdom were three stakes set up. To the middle post the mother was bound, the eldest daughter on the right hand, and the youngest on the left. They were first strangled, but the rope breaking before they were dead, fell into the fire. Perotine, who was then in a very advanced stage of pregnancy, fell on her side, and her womb bursting asunder, by the vehemency of the flame, the infant, being a male, fell into the fire, and being immediately taken out by one W. House, was laid upon the grass.

Then was the child carried to the provost, and from him to the bailiff, who gave order that it should be carried back again and cast into the fire. And so the infant baptized in his own blood, to fill up the number of God's innocent saints, was both born and died a martyr, leaving behind a spectacle wherein the whole world may see the Herodian cruelty of this graceless generation of popish tormentors, to their perpetual shame and infamy.

"Now," says Mr. Fox, "as this story, perhaps, for the horrible strangeness of the fact, will be hardly believed by some, but rather thought to be forged, or else more amplified by me than truth will bear me out, therefore, to discharge my credit herein, I will not only mention that I received this story by the faithful relation both of the French and English, of them which were there present witnesses and lookers on, but also have hereto annexed the true supplication of the said inhabitants of Guernsey, and of the brother of the said two sisters, complaining to Queen Elizabeth, and her commissioners, concerning the horribleness of the act."

Then follows the petition, which, after stating the cruelty of the case, solicits the restoration of the property of the martyrs, which had been confiscated, to him, as the rightful heir.

This being presented to the queen's commissioners, in the year 1562, such order therein was taken, that the matter being further examined, the dean who had been instrumental in the tragical event, was committed to prison, and dispossessed of all his livings. So that in conclusion, both he, and all other partakers of that most bloody and barbarous murder, either by conscience, or for fear of the law, were driven to acknowledge their trespass, and to submit themselves to the queen's mercy.

THREE MARTYRS, BURNT AT GRINSTEAD IN SUSSEX.

Near about the same time that these three women, and the infant, were burnt at Guernsey, three other persons suffered at Grinstead, in Sussex, two men and one woman; the names of whom were 'Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and Mary Tree, who for righteousness' sake, gave themselves to death amidst the torments of the fire,

patiently abiding what the furious rage of man could say or work against them; and so ended their lives on the 18th of July, in the year 1556.

MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS MOOR, AT LEICESTER.

As the bloody rage of this persecution spared neither man, woman nor child, lame nor blind, and as there was no difference either of age or sex considered, so neither was there any condition or quality respected of any person; but whosoever he were that believed not as the papists did, concerning the pope and the sacrament of the altar, were he learned or unlearned, wise or simple, all went to the fire. Thus this poor simple man named Thomas Moor, a servant in the town of Leicester, about 24 years of age, for merely expressing his belief that "his Maker was in heaven and not in the pyx," was thereupon apprehended and brought before his ordinary, when he was first asked, "Whether he did not believe his Maker to be there?" pointing to the high altar. Which he denied.

"How then," said the bishop, "dost thou believe?"

The young man answered, "As my creed doth teach me."

Then said the bishop, "And what is yonder that thou seest above the altar?"

He answered, "Forsooth, I cannot tell what you would have me to see. I see there fine clothes, with golden tassals, and other gay matters hanging about the pyx: what is within I cannot see."

"Why," said the bishop, "dost thou not believe Christ to be there, flesh, blood, and bone?"

"No, that I do not," replied Moor.

Whereupon the ordinary making short with him, read the sentence, and so condemned this faithful servant of Christ to death; he was accordingly burnt, and suffered a joyful and glorious martyrdom for the testimony of righteousness, at Leicester, about the 26th day of June, 1556.

MARTYRDOM OF JOAN WASTE, A POOR BLIND WOMAN, AT
DERBY.

This poor woman, during the time of king Edward VI., used to frequent the church to hear divine service in the vulgar tongue, together with homilies and sermons, by which means she became confirmed and established in the principles of the reformed religion.

Having purchased a New Testament in English, she applied to an old man, whom she paid for reading such passages as she directed him; by which means she became so well versed in the Holy Scriptures, that she could repeat entire chapters by heart, and, by citing proper texts of scripture, would reprove the errors in religion, as well as the vicious customs and practices that prevailed in those days.

Thus did this pious woman increase in the knowledge of God's word, leading a life of exemplary godliness, without molestation, or any kind of interruption, during the reign of king Edward.

But on his death, and the re-introduction of popery, on the accession of queen Mary, because she continued steadfast in the profession of that faith she had embraced from a knowledge of the divine word, and refused to communicate with those who maintained contrary doctrines, she was brought before Dr. Ralph Bayne, bishop

of Lichfield and Coventry, and Dr. Draycott, the chancellor, as one suspected of heresies, and by them committed to the prison of Derby.

She was several times privately examined by Peter Finch, the bishop's official; and afterwards brought to public examination before the bishop, his chancellor, and several more of the queen's commissioners; when the following articles were alleged against her:

1. That she held the sacrament of the altar to be only a memorial, or representation of Christ's body, and material bread and wine; and that it ought not to be reserved from time to time, but immediately received.

2. That she held, that in the receiving the sacrament of the altar she did not receive the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered on the cross, for the redemption of mankind.

3. That she held, that Christ, at his last supper, did not only bless the bread which he had then in his hands, but was blessed himself; and that, by virtue of the words of consecration, the substance of the bread and wine was not converted, nor turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

4. That she granted she was of the parish of Allhalows, in Derby, and that all and singular the premises were true.

To these respective articles she answered, that she believed just as much as the Holy Scriptures taught her, and according to what she had heard preached by many pious and learned men; some of whom had suffered imprisonment, and others death, for the same doctrine.

Among others, she mentioned Dr. Taylor, and asked, if they would follow his example in testimony of their doctrine? which, unless they were willing to do, she desired, for God's sake, they would not trouble her,

(being a poor, blind, and illiterate woman,) declaring, at the same time, she was ready to yield up her life in defence of that faith she had publicly professed.

The bishop, and his chancellor, urged many arguments in proof of the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, demanding why Christ was not as able to make bread his body, as to turn water into wine, to raise Lazarus from the dead, and the like, threatening her, at the same time, with imprisonment, torments, and death.

The poor woman, terrified at these threatenings, told the bishop, if he would, before that company, take it upon his conscience, that the doctrine which he would have her to believe, concerning the sacrament, was true, and that he would, at the awful tribunal of God, answer for her therein, (as Dr. Taylor, in several sermons, had offered,) she would then further answer them.

The bishop declaring that he would, the chancellor said to him, "My lord, you know not what you do; you may in no case answer for a heretic."

The bishop, struck by this interposition of the chancellor, demanded of the woman, whether she would recant or not, and told her she should answer for herself.

This honest Christian finding, at length, they designed but to prevaricate, told his lordship, that if he refused to take upon himself to answer for the truth of what they required her to believe, she would answer no farther, but desired them to do their pleasure.

In consequence of this, sentence of death was pronounced against her, and she was delivered to the sheriff, who immediately re-conducted her to the prison.

On the 1st of August, 1556, the day appointed for her execution, she was led to the stake. Immediately on her arrival at the fatal spot, she knelt down, and, in the most fervent manner, repeated several prayers, de-

siring the spectators to pray also for her departing soul. Having finished her prayers she arose, and was fastened to the stake; when the fagots being lighted, she called on the Lord to have mercy on her, and continued so to do, till the flames deprived her both of speech and life. And thus did this poor woman quit this mortal stage, to obtain a life of immortality, the sure and certain reward of all those who suffer for the sake of the true gospel of their blessed Redeemer.

VARIOUS MARTYRDOMS.

On the 8th of September, 1556, one Edward Sharp was burnt at Bristol; and on the 25th of the same month, a young man, by trade a carpenter, suffered at the same place.

The day preceding the last martyrdom of John Hart, a shoemaker, and Thomas Ravendale, a currier, were burnt at Mayfield, in Sussex. And,

On the 27th of the same month, one John Horn, and a woman, whose name is unknown, suffered at Wootton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire.

All these martyrs submitted to their fate with the most Christian fortitude, giving glory to God for having numbered them among the followers and advocates of his most holy gospel.

FIVE PERSONS STARVED TO DEATH.

The last on record, who suffered for the truth of the gospel in the bloody year 1556, were five persons, (confined, with many others, in Canterbury castle) who were

cruelly starved to death. Their names were as follows: William Foster, Alice Potkins, and John Archer, who had been condemned; John Clark, and Dunstan Chittenden, who had not been condemned.

The cruel usage these unhappy persons suffered from their unfeeling persecutors, is displayed in a letter written by one of them, and thrown out of the window of the prison; of which the following is an exact copy:

“Be it known unto all men that shall read, or hear read, these our letters, that we the poor prisoners of the castle of Canterbury, for God’s truth, are kept, and lie in cold irons, and our keepers will not suffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheese, or any other food, the said keeper will charge them that so bring us any thing, except money or raiment, to carry it them again; or else, if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himself, and he and his servants do spend it, so that we have nothing thereof; and thus the keeper keepeth away our victuals from us: insomuch, that there are four of us prisoners there for God’s truth famished already; and thus it is his mind to famish us all: and we think he is appointed thereunto by the bishops and priests, and also of the justices, so to famish us; and not only us of the said castle, but also all other prisoners, in other prisons, for the like cause to be also famished: notwithstanding, we write not these our letters, to that intent we might not afford to be famished for the Lord Jesus’ sake, but for this cause and intent, that they, having no law to famish us in prison, should not do it privily, but that the murderers’ hearts should be openly known to all the world, that all men may

know of what church they are, and who is their father. Out of the castle of Canterbury.”

Among the others confined with these five were ten men, who having been examined by Dr. Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, were sentenced to be burnt. They had been confined a considerable time, but their sentence was, at length, put into execution; and they were the first who opened the bloody transactions of the year 1557. Their names were as follow:—Stephen Kemp, of Norgate; William Waterer, of Beddingden; W. Prowting, of Thornham; W. Lowick, of Cranbroke; Thomas Hudson, of Salenge; William Hay, of Hithe; Thomas Stephens, of Beddingden; John Philpot, Nicholas Final, and Matthew Bradbridge, all of Tenterden.

The six first were burnt at Canterbury on the 15th of January, 1557; Stephens and Philpot suffered the next day at Wye; and Final and Bradbridge the day after, at Ashford.

They all bore their sufferings with Christian fortitude, rejoicing that their troubles were drawing to an end, and that they should leave this world, for that where the weary are at rest.

MARTYRDOMS OF RICHARD WOODMAN, GEORGE STEPHENS, WILLIAM MAYNARD, ALEXANDER HOSMAN, THOMAS IN WOOD, MARGERY MORIS, JAMES MORIS, DENNIS BORGESS, ANN ASHDON, AND MARY GROVES.

Though these ten persons all suffered together, yet we do not find any particulars relative to any of them, except Richard Woodman, who was a considerable merchant in the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sus-

sex, and whose troubles arose from the following incident:

There was one Fairbank, who, for some time, had been a married priest, and served the cure of Warbleton, where he urgently persuaded the people not to credit any doctrine but that which he preached, and which was then taught and set forth in the days of Edward the Sixth; but in the beginning of the reign of Mary, Fairbank deserted the reformed principles, and favoured the Romish tenets; upon which Woodman upbraided him with inconstancy and cowardice, and reminded him how differently he then preached from what he had formerly done.

This open and frank behaviour irritated the apostate so much that he caused Woodman to be apprehended, and being brought before several of the justices of peace for the county of Sussex, he was committed to the King's-Bench prison, where he remained a considerable time.

At length he and four other prisoners were brought together to be examined by Bonner, bishop of London, who, after asking them some questions, desired they would be honest men, and profess themselves members of the true Catholic church, which was built upon the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head of the same. To this they all said, that they were members of the true church, and determined, by God's grace, to continue in the same; upon which they were all discharged.

Mr. Woodman had not long returned home, before a report was spread that he had conformed to the church of Rome: but he vindicated himself from that aspersion in several companies; in consequence of which demonstration of his adherence to the Protestant faith, com-

plaint was made to Sir John Gage, who issued warrants for apprehending him.

As he was one day employed in his ordinary occupation, three men arrested him in her majesty's name, and told him he must go with them before the lord chamberlain.

The surprise of the action put him into great consternation, and he desired to go home, in order to put on a dress suitable to appear in before his superiors.

On his way homeward he reflected on the unreasonableness of his fear, as they could lay no evil to his charge; and if they killed him for well-doing, he might think himself happy.

These reflections afforded him courage and comfort: he found that his fears arose from the frailty of human nature, his attachment to his worldly possessions, and his love to his wife and children.

But when, on serious consideration, he determined, by the grace of God, to die for the sake of Christ and his gospel, he regarded nothing in this world, resolving to give up every thing in defence of the truth of the gospel.

When he came to his house, he demanded of the men that arrested him to show their warrant, that he might know wherefore he was apprehended, and be better prepared to answer for himself when he should come before their master.

The men, not having any warrant, were startled at his demand, and Woodman severely reprimanded them for offering to take him without. "I heard," said he, "that there were several warrants out against me, but they were called in as soon as I had satisfied the commissioners by letter, that I was not guilty of the things laid to my charge; therefore set your hearts at rest, for I will

not go with you without a warrant, unless you force me, which do at your peril."

On their leaving his house, he called them back, and told them, if they would produce a warrant he would go with them freely. One of them said he would fetch one that was left at his house; but while he was gone Woodman escaped, and absented himself from home three days, during which time they searched his house several times, but could not find him.

Mr. Woodman, finding his enemies thus resolved on his destruction, prepared himself a convenient cottage in a wood, near his house, where he had pen and ink, and a Bible; and such necessaries as he had occasion for, were daily brought to him.

His absence produced a report, that he had left the kingdom, in consequence of which his enemies ceased to search for him, and he embraced this opportunity of visiting his friends and brethren; after which he went over to Flanders, but not liking to be so far from his family, he soon returned to England.

When it was known that he was come home, the curate of the parish, and other popish emissaries, procured warrants to apprehend him. They often searched his house for that purpose, but could not find him, for he had artfully contrived a secret place which they could not discover.

At length, through the treachery of his father, and of his brothers, (whom he had told of his hiding-place, and who had great part of his property in their hands, which they basely sought to secure to themselves by sacrificing him) his house was beset in the night, which as soon as he discovered, he ran out bare-foot, but unhappily treading upon some stones, he fell down, and being seized, was sent prisoner to London.

On the 14th of April, 1557, he was brought before Dr. Christopherson, bishop-elect of Chichester, who told him he was sorry to see him in his present circumstances, as he heard that he was a man greatly esteemed in the country where he lived, for his probity and charity; and at the same time advised him seriously to consider his situation, nor think himself wiser than all the realm, assuring him that he wished to do him much service.

Mr. Woodman replied, that so far from esteeming himself wiser than all the realm, he was disposed to learn of every man, that could teach him the truth; and that, with respect to the general esteem in which he was held by his neighbours, he had ever endeavoured to maintain a conscience void of offence. "As for my wife and children," said he, "they are all in God's hand, and I have them all as though I had them not, according to the words of St. Paul; but had I ten thousand pounds in gold, I would forego it all, rather than displease my God."

When the bishop informed him, that the sheriff applied to him out of respect to his character, he replied, that he thought proper to appeal to his ordinary; "for," said he, "they seek most unrighteously to shed my blood, and have laid many things unjustly to my charge. If you can prove, from the word of God, that any of my religious principles are false, I am willing to renounce the same, and stand here desirous of being reformed."

After this, several divines conversed with him on the sacrament of the altar, purgatory, and other popish topics; when Woodman confuted his opponents with great energy and propriety, asserting, and proving from scripture, that there were but two sacraments ordained by Christ, and observed by him, and his immediate disciples and apostles.

Being required, by the bishop of Chichester, to give a plain and full account of his belief concerning the sacrament of the altar, he made this explicit confession: "I do believe, that if I came to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, truly ministered, believing that Christ was born for me, and that he died on the cross for me, and that I shall be saved from my sins by his blood, and receive the sacrament in that remembrance, then I believe that I do receive the whole Christ, mystically, by faith."

A few days after this, Woodman was privately examined by lord Montague's chaplain, who made use of many arguments to bring him over to the Romish faith; but all his efforts were ineffectual, for Woodman would not yield to any thing that was not founded on the authority of sacred writ.

After some time, he was brought before the bishop of Winchester, in St. George's church, Southwark, where several gentlemen and clergy were present, and he was then examined concerning the cause of his imprisonment: to which he replied, it was for speaking to the curate of his parish in the pulpit, and not for heresy.

Being asked what he had to allege in vindication of himself from that charge, he cited the following words of the statute:

"Whoso doth interrupt any preacher, or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's majesty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that all such shall suffer three months' imprisonment for so doing; and furthermore, be brought to the quarter-sessions, and being sorry for the same, shall be released, upon his good behaviour, for one whole year."

He then observed, that he had not so offended against the statute, for the person to whom he spoke was not

lawfully authorized, as he had not put away his wife, and, consequently, according to the law then in force, he had no right to preach.

On the 15th of June, Mr. Woodman was again brought before the bishop of Winchester, in St. Saviour's church, Southwark, in the presence of the archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdall, and several other dignitaries.

The bishop of Winchester producing some writings, asked if they were his, to which he replied in the affirmative; but refused to answer to any articles which that prelate might exhibit against him, because "he was not of his diocese, though he was then in it, consequently he had nothing to do with him, who was not his ordinary."

After some dispute, the bishop peremptorily asked him, "if he would become an honest man, and conform to the holy mother church?" To which Mr. Woodman replied, "that no person could, with justice, object to his character; and that he was surprised he should charge him with heresy, as my lord of London had discharged him of all matters that were laid against him on that head."

The bishop then observed, "that at the time he was released, perhaps those things were not laid to his charge; and that, therefore, they were now objected to him, because he was suspected of being a heretic."

Mr. Woodman, at length, consented to answer to the several articles exhibited against them, which having done, he distinctly rehearsed the articles of his belief in the following form:

"I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, my Saviour, very God, and Man. I believe in God the Holy Ghost,

the comforter of all God's chosen people, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe the true Catholic church, and all the sacraments that belong thereto."

Being farther asked concerning his belief in the sacrament of the altar, he told them he would answer no farther questions, because he perceived they sought to shed his blood.

As the bishop of Chichester was not yet consecrated, he would not undertake, judicially, to examine Woodman, and therefore submitted the whole to the bishop of Winchester, who, after many other questions and farther arguments, to bring him over to recant, at length pronounced sentence of condemnation against him, and he was accordingly delivered over to the secular power.

About a fortnight after this, Mr. Woodman was conveyed to Lewes, in Sussex, together with his fellow-martyrs, concerning whose examination (as we have already observed) there is not any thing recorded, except that they had been all condemned for heresy a few days after their apprehension.

On the 22d of July, 1557, these ten steadfast believers in Christ were led to the place of execution; and being chained to several stakes, were all consumed in one fire. They died with becoming fortitude and resignation, committing their departing spirits into the hands of that Redeemer, who was to be their final judge, and who, they had reason to hope, would usher them into the realms of bliss, with "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

MARTYRDOM OF THE REV. JOHN HULLIER, CAMBRIDGE.

John Hullier was descended of reputable parents, who, after giving him a liberal education at a private school, sent him to Eton college, from whence, according to the rules of that foundation, he was elected to King's college, Cambridge.

After he had been at college about three years, he was admitted to a fellowship, and obtained a curacy at Babram, a village, about three miles from Cambridge. He had not been long here before he went to Lynn, where he had several debates with the papists, who reporting his principles to Dr. Thurlby, bishop of the diocese, he sent for him, and, after a short examination relative to his faith, committed him to the castle of Cambridge.

A short time after this he was cited to appear at St. Mary's church, before several doctors both of law and divinity, by whom he was reprimanded for opposing the doctrines of the church of Rome, and maintaining and defending those set forth in the days of Edward VI.

His examination being finished, he was required to recant what they termed his erroneous opinions; which peremptorily refusing, he was degraded, condemned, and delivered over to the secular power, who immediately divested him of all his books, papers, and writings.

On the day appointed for his execution, (being Maundy Thursday) he was conducted to the stake without the town, at a place called Jesus Green, near Jesus college, where, having made the necessary preparations on the melancholy occasion, he desired the spectators to pray for him, and to bear witness that he died in the faith of Christ, sealing the same with his blood. He likewise assured them he died in a good cause, for the testimony

of the truth, and that there was no other rock, but Jesus Christ, to build upon, nor any hope of salvation, but through his death and sufferings.

One of the proctors of the university, and some of the fellows of Trinity college, were offended at his address to the people, and reproved the mayor for giving him liberty to speak. Of this our martyr took no notice; but being chained to the stake, he earnestly called upon God for his grace and support, to enable him to undergo the fiery trial.

As soon as the fagots were lighted, a number of books were thrown into the midst of them, and among the rest a communion book, which Hullier catching, joyfully read in it till the flames and smoke prevented him from seeing. He then prayed with a loud voice, holding the book as long as he was able, and praising God for sending it to him as a comforter in his last moments.

After the spectators thought he had been dead, he suddenly exclaimed, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" and then quietly expired.

His death was greatly lamented by many of the spectators, who prayed for him, and expressed their grief by floods of tears, he having been a man of eminent piety, and the most exemplary virtue.

**MARTYRDOMS OF SIMON MILLER, AND ELIZABETH COOPER,
AT NORWICH.**

Simon Miller was an eminent merchant in the town of Lynn-Regis. He was a godly man, zealous for the truth of the gospel, and consequently opposed to the popish religion.

Having occasion to go to Norwich on business, while there he inquired of some people coming out of church from the popish service, where he might go and receive the communion, which being reported to chancellor Dunning, he ordered him to appear before him. This summons he readily obeyed, when the chancellor asked him several questions, to which answering agreeably to the dictates of his conscience, he was committed prisoner to the bishop's palace.

After being some time in confinement, he obtained permission to go home, in order to settle his worldly concerns. On his return he was again examined by the chancellor, who required him to recant his opinions, and return to the holy mother church; but Miller remaining inflexible in his faith and profession, was condemned as a heretic, and delivered over to the secular power.

ELIZABETH COOPER (his fellow-martyr) was the wife of a tradesman in Norwich. She had formerly been prevailed on to recant the Protestant, and embrace the Romish religion: but being troubled in her conscience for so doing, she went one day to St. Andrew's church, where, in the presence of a numerous audience, she stood up, and publicly revoked her recantation. For this she was immediately apprehended, and committed to prison. The next day she was brought before the bishop, when persisting in her faith, he condemned her as a relapsed heretic, and delivered her to the sheriff for execution.

On the 30th of July, 1557, they were both led to the stake, in a hollow without the city, near Bishopsgate. When the fagots were lighted, Elizabeth Cooper expressed some fear; but being encouraged by the advice and example of her fellow-martyr, she recovered her fortitude, and they both cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of their Almighty Father.

MARTYRDOM OF MRS. JOYCE LEWIS, AT LICHFIELD.

In the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, Mrs. Lewis went to church, heard mass, was confessed, and observed all the ceremonies of the Romish church, till at length it pleased God, by the preaching of a Protestant minister, to convince her of her errors, and convert her to the true faith of the gospel of Christ.

What greatly contributed to her conversion was, the burning of Laurence Saunders, a faithful servant of God at Coventry, which we have described in a preceding page. She inquired into the cause of that cruel punishment, and being told it was because he would not receive the mass, she began to entertain doubts concerning the truth of a religion which sanctioned such barbarities, and accordingly applied for satisfaction to one Mr. Glover, who had himself suffered much for his steadfast attachment to the truth of the gospel.

This good man pointed out to her the errors of the Romish church, proving them to be anti-scriptural and anti-christian, and advising her to make the word of God her constant study, and to regulate her faith and practice by that alone.

Mrs. Lewis immediately took his advice, and gave herself up to prayer, and acts of benevolence, determined, by the divine grace, both to do and believe as much and no more than she was enjoined by the word of God.

Being one day urged by her husband to go to church, when the holy water was sprinkled about, she turned her back towards it, and strongly expressed her displeasure. This being observed by several of the congregation, an accusation was, the next day, laid against her

before the bishop of Lichfield, for despising the sacrament of the church.

The bishop sent an officer to summon her to appear before him; but when he delivered the citation to her husband, he threatened the officer, and holding a dagger to his breast compelled him to *eat* the paper, before he suffered him to depart.

This treatment being reported to the bishop, he ordered both Mr. Lewis and his wife to appear before him; when, after a short examination, he dismissed the husband, on his begging pardon for his violent conduct, and offered forgiveness to the wife for the offence she had committed at the church, on the said terms. But she courageously told his lordship, that by refusing holy water, she had not offended God, or any of his laws.

Though the bishop was greatly offended at this reply, yet, as she was a person of considerable repute, he did not proceed immediately against her, but gave her a month to consider of the matter, binding her husband in one hundred pounds, to bring her again to him at the expiration of that time.

When the period fixed was nearly arrived, many of their friends advised her husband, by all means, not to deliver her up, but to convey her to some convenient retirement, saying, he had better sustain the loss of a hundred pounds, than be instrumental to his wife's destruction.

To these remonstrances the unnatural husband replied, "he would not forfeit his bond for her sake;" and, accordingly, when the time was expired, he delivered her to the bishop, who, still finding her resolute, committed her to a loathsome prison.

She was several times examined by the bishop, who reasoned with her on her not coming to mass, nor re-

ceiving the sacrament according to the rituals of the holy church: to this she replied, that "she found not those things in God's word, which he so much urged and magnified as necessary to salvation;" adding, that "if those things were founded on God's word, she would receive them with all her heart."

His lordship told her, "if she would believe no more than was in scripture, she was a damnable heretic;" and after much farther discourse with her, pronounced sentence against her as irreclaimable.

The concluding scene of this pious woman's life is narrated with so much interesting simplicity by the Martyrologist, that we give it in his own words.

In the evening before her suffering, two of the priests of the close of Lichfield, came to the under sheriff's house where she lay, and sent word to her by the sheriff, that "they were come to her confession; for they would be sorry she should die without." She sent them word again, "she had made a confession to Christ her Saviour, at whose hands she was sure to have forgiveness of her sins. As concerning the cause for which she should die, she had no cause to confess that, but rather to give most humble praise to God, that he had made her worthy to suffer death for his word: and as concerning that absolution that they were able to give unto her, being authorized by the pope, she did defy the same, even from the bottom of her heart."

Which when the priests heard, they said to the sheriff, "Well, to-morrow her stoutness will be proved and tried: for although perhaps she hath now some friends that whisper in her ears, to-morrow we will see who dare be so hardy as to come near her:" and so they went their ways with anger, that their confession and absolution was nought set by.

All that night she was wonderfully cheerful and merry, with a certain gravity, insomuch that the majesty of the Spirit of God did manifestly appear in her, who did expel the fear of death out of her heart, spending the time in prayer, reading and talking with them that were purposely come unto her, to comfort her with the word of God.

About three o'clock in the morning, satan, (who never sleepeth, especially when death is at hand) began to stir himself busily, shooting at her that fiery dart, which he is wont to do against all that are at defiance with him, by questioning her, how she could tell that she was chosen to eternal life, and that Christ died for her. "I grant that he died, but that he died for thee, how canst thou tell?" Whilst she was troubled with this suggestion, they that were about her counselled her to follow the example of Paul, Gal. ii. where he saith, "Which hath loved me, and given himself for me." Also, that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of God's word, was a manifest token of God's love, and desire towards God working in her heart, that love and desire towards God, to please him, and to be justified by him through Christ, &c. By these and like persuasions, and especially by the comfortable promises of Christ brought out of the scripture, satan was put to flight, and she comforted in Christ.

About eight o'clock, Mr. Sheriff came into her chamber, saying these words, "Mrs. Lewis, I am come to bring you tidings of the queen's pleasure, which is, that you shall live but one hour longer in this world: therefore it behoveth you to prepare yourself for it." At which words, being so grossly uttered, and so suddenly, by such an officer as he was, made her somewhat cast down. Wherefore one of her friends and acquaintance

standing by, said these words: "Mrs. Lewis, you have great cause to praise God, who has vouchsafed so soon to take you out of this world, and made you worthy to be a witness of the truth, and to bear record unto Christ, that he is the only Saviour."

After which words, she said, "Mr. Sheriff, your message is welcome to me; and I thank my God that he has made me worthy to offer my life for his service." At which words the sheriff departed: but in the space of an hour he came back again, with swords and clubs: and when he came up into her chamber, one of her friends desired him to give him leave to go with her to the stake, and to comfort her, which the sheriff granted at that time; but afterwards, when she was dead, he was sore troubled for the same.

Now when she was brought through the town by a number of bill-men, a great number of people being present, she was led by two of her friends, namely, Mr. Michael Reniger, and Mr. Augustine Bernher, and so brought to the place of execution: and because the place was far off, and the throng of the people great, and she not acquainted with the fresh air, (being so long in prison) one of her friends sent a messenger to the sheriff's house for some drink: and after she had prayed three several times, in which prayers she desired God most instantly to abolish the idolatrous mass, and to deliver this realm from popery (at the end of which prayers, most part of the people cried, "Amen!" yea, even the sheriff that stood hard by her, ready to cast her into the fire for not allowing the mass, at this her prayer said with the rest of her people, "Amen!") when she had thus prayed, she took the cup into her hands, saying, "I drink to all them that unfeignedly love the gospel of

Jesus Christ, and wish for the abolishment of popery.” When she had drank, they that were her friends drank also. After that a great number, especially the women of that town, drank with her, who afterwards were put to open penance in the church by the cruel papists, for drinking with her.

When she was chained to the stake, she showed such cheerfulness, that it passed man’s reason, being so well coloured in her face, and being so patient, that most of them that had honest hearts were moved, and even with tears bewailed the tyranny of the papists. When the fire was set to her, she made no other resistance than by lifting up her hands towards heaven, being dead very soon: for the under sheriff, at the request of her friends, had provided such stuff, that she was suddenly despatched out of this miserable world.

This, amongst other things, is not to be forgotten, that the papists had appointed some to rail upon her, and to revile her, both as she went to the place of execution, as also when she went to the stake. Amongst others there was an old priest, who had a pair of writing tables wherein he set down the names of those women that drank of the cup (as before mentioned,) and also described her friends by their apparel, for he could not presently learn their names, and afterwards inquired for them: and so immediately after process was sent for them, both to Coventry and other places: but God, whose providence sleeps not, did defend them from the hands of these cruel tyrants. Unto which God, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be honour and glory for ever. Amen.

MARTYRDOM OF AGNES BONGEOR AND MARGARET THURSTON, AT COLCHESTER.

In a preceding page we have given an account of ten persons who suffered martyrdom at Colchester; two other women, Margaret Thurston, and Agnes Bongeor, were likewise condemned, at the same time and place, and for the same cause. But Margaret Thurston, on the morning that she should have suffered with the others, was for that time deferred, by the following circumstances, which she afterwards related to Joan Cook, a fellow-prisoner, a few hours before her death. This woman having asked Margaret why she should be reserved when the others suffered? she answered, "That it was not for any fear of death; but being prepared, as the rest were that suffered the same day, she was taken with a great shivering and trembling of the flesh; whereupon, forsaking the company, she went aside to pray; and whilst she was praying, she thought she was lifted up by a mighty wind that came round about her. Even at that instant came in the gaoler and company with him, and whilst she turned herself to fetch her psalter, they took the other prisoners and left her alone. Shortly after she was moved out of the castle, and put into the town prison, where she continued until Friday seven-night after her company was burnt." That day, not two hours before her death, she was brought to the castle again, where she told this to the said Joan Cook.

The other woman, named Agnes Bongeor, who should have suffered in like manner with the six that went out of Mote-hall, was also kept at that time, because her name was wrongly spelled in the writ.

The following is the Martyrologist's account of the closing scenes of this good woman's life:

The same morning, the second of August, that the said six in Mote-hall were called out to go to their martyrdom, Agnes Bongeor was also called with them, by the name of Agnes Bower. Wherefore the bailiffs, understanding her to be wrong named within the writ, commanded the said Agnes Bongeor to prison again, and so that day sent her from Mote-hall to the castle, where she remained till her death.

But when she saw herself separated from her fellow-prisoners in such a manner, oh! what piteous complaints that good woman made; how bitterly she wept, what strange thoughts came into her mind, how naked and desolate she esteemed herself, and to what a plunge of despair and care her poor soul was brought, it was both sad and moving to behold; and all because she went not with them to give up her life for the cause of Christ; for of all things in the world, life was the least thing that she expected. For the morning, on which she was kept back from burning, she had put on a smock that she had prepared only for that purpose. And also having a child, a little young infant suckling on her, who she kept with her tenderly all the time she was in prison, that day likewise did she send away to another nurse, and prepared herself presently to give herself for the testimony of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ. So little did she look for life, and so greatly did God's gifts work in her above nature, that death seemed much better welcome than life. But this took not effect at that time as she thought it would, and therefore (as I said) she was greatly troubled.

But in this great perplexity of mind, a friend of her's came to her, and required to know whether Abraham's obedience was accepted before God, for that he did

sacrifice his son Isaac, or in that he would have offered him? Unto which she answered thus:

“I know,” said she, “that Abraham’s will before God was allowed for the deed, in that he would have done it, if the angel of the Lord had not stayed him: but I,” said she, “am unhappy; the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignity, and therefore Abraham’s case and mine are not alike.”

“Why then,” said her friend, “would you not willingly have gone with your company, if God should so have suffered it?”

“Yes,” said she, “that I would with all my heart, and because I did not, it is now my chief and greatest grief.”

“Then,” said her friend, “my dear sister, I pray thee consider Abraham and thyself well, and thou shalt see thou dost nothing differ with him in will at all.”

“Alas!” said she, “there is a far greater matter in Abraham than in me; for Abraham was tried with the offering of his own child, but so am not I; and therefore our cases are not alike.”

“Good sister,” said her friend, “weigh the matter but indifferently. Abraham, I grant, would have offered his son: and have not you done the like in your little sucking babe? But consider further than this, my good sister, where Abraham was commanded but to offer his son, you are heavy and grieved because you offer not yourself, which goeth somewhat more near you than Abraham’s obedience did; and therefore before God, assuredly, is no less accepted and allowed in his holy presence; which further the preparing of your shroud also doth argue full well,” &c. After which talk between them, she began a little to stay herself, and gave her

whole exercise to reading and prayer, wherein she found a great deal of comfort.

During the time that these aforesaid two good women were prisoners, one in the castle, and the other in Mote-hall, God by a secret means called the said Margaret Thurston unto his truth again; who having her eyes opened by the working of his Spirit, did greatly sorrow and lament her backsliding before, and promised faithfully to the Lord, in hope of his mercies, never more while she lived to do the like again, but that she would constantly stand to the confession of the same, against all the adversaries of the cross of Christ. After which promise made, came in a short time a writ from London for the burning of them, which was accordingly executed the 17th day of September, in the year aforesaid.

Now when these aforesaid women were brought to the place at Colchester, where they should suffer, they fell down upon their knees, and made their humble prayers to God, which being done, they rose and went to the stake joyfully, and were immediately chained thereto, and after the fire had encompassed them about, they with great joy and glorious triumph gave up their souls, spirits, and lives, into the hands of the Lord, under whose government and protection, for Christ's sake, we beseech him to grant us his holy defence and help for evermore. Amen.

About the same time, a shoemaker, named JOHN KURDE, was burnt at Northampton, and died with the same steadfastness and hope, as the other martyrs in the same glorious cause.

**PERSECUTION AND SUFFERINGS OF WILLIAM FETTY, A
BOY, WHO WAS BARBAROUSLY SCOURGED TO DEATH.**

If dying innocently in the cause of Christ, and his religion, constitute a martyr, no one can be better entitled to a place in our catalogue than this youth, who was unmercifully scourged to death, at the instigation of the relentless and cruel Bonner.

Among those who were persecuted and imprisoned for the profession of Christ's gospel, and yet delivered by the providence of God, was John Fetty, the father of this lad. He had been accused, by his own wife, to the minister of the parish in which he lived, of absenting himself from church, the sacrament of the altar, confession, and other ceremonies; for which he was apprehended by one of the officers employed for that purpose.

Immediately after his apprehension his wife grew delirious, in consequence of which, though they were regardless of him, pity towards that wicked woman wrought upon the magistrates, so that, for the preservation and support of her and her children, they discharged him, with an order that he should continue in his own house.

Notwithstanding the ingratitude of his wife, he provided for her in such a manner, that within three weeks, she had, in some measure, recovered her senses. But such was the disposition of this woman, that, notwithstanding this instance of his conjugal affection, she laid a second information against him; upon which he was apprehended, and carried before Sir John Mordaunt, one of the queen's commissioners, by whom, after examination, he was sent to Lollard's Tower, where he was put into the stocks, and had a dish of water set by him, with

a stone in it, to point out to him, that it was the chief sustenance he might expect to receive.

After he had been in prison for fifteen days (the greatest part of which time he was kept in the stocks, sometimes by one leg, and sometimes by the other,) William Fetty, one of his sons, came to the bishop's palace, in order to obtain permission to see him.

When he arrived there, one of the bishop's chaplains asked him his business; the boy replied, he wanted to see his father, at the same time shedding tears, and expressing the greatest unhappiness. The chaplain asked who was his father; and when the boy told him, he pointed towards Lollard's Tower, intimating, that he was there confined.

The chaplain then told him his father was a heretic; to which the boy (who was of a bold and forward spirit, and had been instructed by his father in the reformed religion) answered, "My father is no heretic; but you have Balaam's mark."

On this the incensed priest took the boy by the hand, and dragged him to a large room in the palace, where, after stripping him, he scourged him in the most severe and unmerciful manner; after which he ordered one of his servants to carry him in his shirt to his father, the blood running down to his heels.

As soon as the child saw his father he fell on his knees, and craved his blessing. The poor man beholding his son in so dreadful a situation, exclaimed, with great grief, "Alas! who hath thus cruelly treated you?" The boy replied, "Seeking to find you out, a priest with Balaam's mark, took me into the bishop's house, and treated me in the manner you see."

The servant then seized the boy with great wrath, and dragging him from his father, took him back to the place

where he had been scourged by the priest. Here he was kept three days, in the course of which his former punishment was several times repeated, though not in so severe a manner as before.

At the expiration of that time, Bonner, in order to make some atonement for this cruel treatment of the boy, and to appease the father, determined to release them both. He, therefore, ordered the latter to be brought before him, in his bed-chamber, early in the morning.

When the poor man came before the bishop, he said, "God be here, and peace." To which the bishop replied, "That is neither God speed, nor good-morrow."

One of the bishop's chaplains standing by, reviled Fetty for the speech he had made; when he, after looking about, and spying a string of black beads, and a small crucifix, said, "As Christ is here handled, so you deal with Christ's chosen people."

The bishop was so enraged at this, that he called him a vile heretic, and said, "I will burn thee, or I will spend all that I possess." However, in a little time his passion cooled, and thinking of the consequences that might arise from scourging the child, he ordered them both to be discharged.

The father immediately went home with his son; but the poor boy, from an extraordinary effusion of blood, and a mortification which ensued, died a few days after, to the great grief of his persecuted and indulgent parent.

The old man remained without farther persecution, during the residue of his life, often praising God for delivering him out of the hands of his enemies, and expressing the deep sense he had of the divine protection.

SECTION VII.

OF THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS IN
THE SOUTH OF FRANCE DURING THE YEARS 1814
AND 1820.

The persecution of this Protestant part of France had continued with very little intermission from the revocation of the edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV. till a very short period previous to the commencement of the late French revolution. In the year 1785, M. Rebaut St. Etienne and the celebrated M. de la Fayette were among the first persons who interested themselves with the court of Louis XVI. in removing the scourge of persecution from this injured people, the inhabitants of the South of France.

Such was the opposition on the part of the Catholics and the Courtiers, that it was not till the end of the year 1790, that the Protestants were freed from their alarms. Previously to this, the Catholics at Nismes in particular, had taken up arms: Nismes then presented a frightful spectacle; armed men ran through the city, fired from the corners of the streets, and attacked all they met with swords and forks. A man named Astuc was wounded and thrown into the Aqueduct; Baudon fell under the repeated strokes of bayonets and sabres, and his body was also thrown into the water; Boucher, a young man only 17 years of age, was shot as he was looking out of his window; three electors wounded, one dangerously; another elector wounded, only escaped death by repeatedly declaring he was a Catholic; a third received four sabre wounds, and was taken home dreadfully mangled. The citizens that fled were arrested by the Catholics upon the roads, and obliged to give proofs of

their religion before their lives were granted. M. and Madame Vogue were at their country house, which the zealots broke open, where they massacred both and destroyed their dwelling. M. Blacher, a Protestant seventy years of age, was cut to pieces with a sickle; Young Pyerre, carrying some food to his brother, was asked, 'Catholic or Protestant?' 'Protestant' being the reply, a monster fired at the lad and he fell. One of the murderer's companions said, 'you might as well have killed a lamb.' 'I have sworn,' replied he, 'to kill four Protestants for my share, and this will count for one.' However, as these atrocities provoked the troops to unite in defence of the people, a terrible vengeance was retaliated upon the Catholic party that had used arms, which, with other circumstances, especially the toleration exercised by Napoleon Bonaparte, kept them down completely till the year 1814, when the unexpected return of the ancient government rallied them all once more round the old banners.

THE ARRIVAL OF KING LOUIS XVIII. AT PARIS.

This was known at Nismes on the 13th of April, 1814. In a quarter of an hour, the white cockade was seen in every direction, the white flag floated on all the public buildings, on the splendid monuments of antiquity, and even on the tower of Magne, beyond the city walls. The Protestants, whose commerce had suffered materially during the war, were among the first to unite in the general joy, and to send in their adhesion to the senate and the legislative body; and several of the Protestant departments sent addresses to the throne; but unfortunately, M. Froment was again at Nismes at the mo-

ment; when many bigots being ready to join him, the blindness and fury of the sixteenth century rapidly succeeded the intelligence and philanthropy of the nineteenth. A line of distinction was instantly traced between men of different religious opinions: the spirit of the old Catholic church was again to regulate each person's share of esteem and safety. The difference of religion was now to govern every thing else; and even Catholic domestics who had served Protestants with zeal and affection, began to neglect their duties, or to perform them ungraciously and with reluctance. At the fetes and spectacles that were given at the public expense, the absence of the Protestants was charged on them as a proof of their disloyalty; and in the midst of the cries of '*Vive le Roi,*' the discordant sounds of, '*A bas le Maire,*' down with the Mayor, were heard. M. Castelnau was a Protestant; he appeared in public with the prefect M. Roland, a Catholic, when potatoes were thrown at him, and the people declared that he ought to resign his office. The bigots of Nismes even succeeded in procuring an address to be presented to the king, stating that there ought to be in France but one God, one King, and one Faith. In this they were imitated by the Catholics of several towns.

THE HISTORY OF THE SILVER CHILD.

About this time M. Baron, Counsellor of the Cour Royale of Nismes, formed the plan of dedicating to God a silver child, if the Duchess d'Angouleme would give a prince to France. This project was converted into a public religious vow, which was the subject of conversation both public and private, whilst persons, whose imagi-

nations were inflamed by these proceedings, run about the streets crying *Vivent les Bourbons*, or the Bourbons for ever. In consequence of this superstitious frenzy, it is said that, at Alais, women were advised and instigated to poison their Protestant husbands, and at length it was found convenient to accuse them of political crimes. They could no longer appear in public without insults and injuries. When the mobs met with Protestants, they seized them and danced round them with barbarous joy, and amidst repeated cries of *Vive le Roi*, they sung verses, the burden of which was 'We will wash our hands in Protestant blood, and make black puddings of the blood of Calvin's children.' The citizens who came to the promenades for air and refreshment, from the close and dirty streets, were chased with shouts of *Vive le Roi*, as if those shouts were to justify every excess. If Protestants referred to the Charter, they were directly assured it would be of no use to them, and that they had only been managed to be more effectually destroyed. Persons of rank were heard to say in the public streets, 'All the Hugonots must be killed; this time their children must be killed, that none of the accursed race may remain.' Still it is true they were not murdered, but cruelly treated; Protestant children could no longer mix in the sports of Catholics, and were not even permitted to appear without their parents. At dark, their families shut themselves up in their apartments; but even then, stones were thrown against their windows. When they rose in the morning, it was not uncommon to find gibbets drawn on their doors or walls; and in the streets, the Catholics held cords already soaped before their eyes, and pointed out the instruments by which they hoped and designed to exterminate them. Small gallows or

models were handed about, and a man who lived opposite to one of the pastors, exhibited one of these models in his window, and made signs sufficiently intelligible when the minister passed. A figure representing a Protestant preacher was also hung upon a public crossway; and the most atrocious songs were sung under his window. Towards the conclusion of the carnival, a plan had even been formed to make a caricature of the four ministers of the place, and burn them in effigy; but this was prevented by the Mayor of Nismes, a Protestant. A dreadful song presented to the Prefect, in the country dialect, with a false translation, was printed by his approval, and had a great run before he saw the extent of the error into which he had been betrayed. The sixty-third regiment of the line was publicly censured and insulted, for having, according to order, protected the Protestants. In fact, the Protestants seemed to be as sheep destined for the slaughter.

NAPOLEON'S RETURN FROM THE ISLE OF ELBA.

Soon after this event, the Duke d'Angouleme was at Nismes, and remained there some time; but even his influence was insufficient to bring about a reconciliation between the Catholics and the Protestants of that city. During the hundred days betwixt Napoleon's return from the Isle of Elba and his final downfall, not a single life was lost in Nismes, not a single house was pillaged: only four of the most notorious disturbers of the peace were punished, or rather prevented from doing mischief; and even this was not an act of the Protestants, but the *arrete* of the Catholic Prefect, announced every where with the utmost publicity. Some time after, when M.

Baron, who proposed the vow of the silver child in favour of the Duchess d'Angouleme, who was considered as a chief of the Catholic royalists, was discovered at the bottom of an old wine tun, the populace threw stones at his carriage, and vented their feelings in abusive language. The Protestant officers protected him from injury.

THE CATHOLIC ARMS OF BEAUCAIRE.

In May, 1815, a federative association similar to those of Lyons, Grenoble, Paris, Avignon, and Montpellier, was desired by many persons at Nismes; but this federation terminated here after an ephemeral and illusory existence of fourteen days. In the mean while a large party of Catholic zealots were in arms at Beaucaire, and who soon pushed their patroles so near the walls of Nismes 'as to alarm the inhabitants.' These Catholics applied to the English off Marseilles for assistance, and obtained the grant of 1000 muskets, 10,000 cartouches, &c. General Gilly, however, was soon sent against these partisans, who prevented them from coming to extremes, by granting them an armistice; and yet when Louis XVIII. had returned to Paris after the expiration of Napoleon's reign of a hundred days, and peace and party spirit seemed to have been subdued, even at Nismes, bands from Beaucaire joined Trestaillon in this city, to glut the vengeance they had so long premeditated. General Gilly had left the department several days; the troops of the line left behind had taken the white cockade, and waited further orders, whilst the royal commissioners had only to proclaim the cessation of hostilities, and the complete establishment of the king's au-

thority. In vain, no commissioners appeared, no despatches arrived to calm and regulate the public mind; but towards evening the advanced guard of the banditti, to the amount of several hundreds, entered the city, undesired but unopposed. As they marched without order or discipline, covered with clothes or rags of all colours, decorated with cockades, not *white*, but *white and green*, armed with muskets, sabres, forks, pistols, and reaping hooks, intoxicated with wine, and stained with the blood of the Protestants whom they had murdered on their route, they presented a most hideous and appalling spectacle. In the open place in the front of the barracks, this banditti was joined by the city armed mob, headed by Jacques Dupont, commonly called Trestaillon. To save the effusion of blood, this garrison of about 500 men consented to capitulate, and marched out sad and defenceless; but when about fifty had passed, the rabble commenced a tremendous fire on their confiding and unprotected victims; nearly all were killed or wounded, and but very few could re-enter the yard before the garrison gates were again closed. These were again forced in an instant, and all were massacred who could not climb over roofs, or leap into the adjoining gardens. In a word, death met them in every place and in every shape, and this Catholic massacre rivalled in cruelty and surpassed in treachery the crimes of the September assassins of Paris, and the Jacobinical butcheries of Lyons and Avignon. It was marked, not only by the fervour of the Revolution, but by the subtlety of the league, and will long remain a blot upon the history of the second restoration.

MASSACRE AND PILLAGE AT NISMES.

Nismes now exhibited a most awful scene of outrage and carnage, though many of the Protestants had fled to the Cevennes and the Gardonnenque. The country houses of Messrs. Rey, Guiret, and several others, had been pillaged, and the inhabitants treated with wanton barbarity. Two parties had glutted their savage appetites on the farm of Madame Frat: the first, after eating, drinking, breaking the furniture, and stealing what they thought proper, took leave by announcing the arrival of their comrades, 'compared with whom,' they said, 'they should be thought merciful.' Three men and an old woman were left on the premises: at the sight of the second company two of the men fled. 'Are you a Catholic?' said the banditti to the old woman. 'Yes.' 'Repeat, then, your Pater and Ave.' Being terrified, she hesitated, and was instantly knocked down with a musket. On recovering her senses she stole out of the house, but met Ladet, the old *valet de ferme*, bringing in a salad which the depredators had ordered him to cut. In vain she endeavoured to persuade him to fly. 'Are you a Protestant?' they exclaimed: 'I am.' A musket being discharged at him, he fell, wounded, but not dead. To consummate their work, the monsters lighted a fire with straw and boards, threw their yet living victim into the flames, and suffered him to expire in the most dreadful agonies. They then ate their salad, omelet, &c. The next day some labourers, seeing the house open and deserted, entered, and discovered the half-consumed body of Ladet. The prefect of the Gard, M. Darbaud Jouques, attempting to palliate the crimes of the Catholics, had the audacity to assert that Ladet was a Catholic; but

this was publicly contradicted by two of the pastors at Nismes.

Another party committed a dreadful murder at St. Cezaire, upon Imbert La Plume, the husband of Suzon Chivas. He was met on returning from work in the fields. The chief promised him his life, but insisted that he must be conducted to the prison at Nismes. Seeing, however, that the party was determined to kill him, he resumed his natural character, and being a powerful and courageous man, advanced, and exclaimed, 'You are brigands—fire!' Four of them fired, and he fell, but he was not dead; and while living they mutilated his body, and then passing a cord round it, drew it along, attached to a cannon of which they had possession. It was not till after eight days that his relatives were apprised of his death. Five individuals of the family of Chivas, all husbands and fathers, were massacred in the course of a few days.

Near the barracks at Nismes is a large and handsome house, the property of M. Vitte, which he acquired by exertion and economy. Besides comfortable lodgings for his own family, he let more than twenty chambers, mostly occupied by superior officers and commissaries of the army. He never inquired the opinion of his tenants, and of course his guests were persons of all political parties; but, under pretence of searching for concealed officers, his apartments were overrun, his furniture broken, and his property carried off at pleasure. The houses of Messrs. Lagorce, most respectable merchants and manufacturers, M. Matthieu, M. Negre, and others, shared the same fate: many only avoided by the owners paying large sums as commutation money, or escaping into the country with their cash.

INTERFERENCE OF GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS.

M. Bernis, Extraordinary Royal Commissioner, in consequence of these abuses, issued a proclamation which reflects disgrace on the authority from which it emanated. 'Considering,' it said, 'that the residence of citizens in places foreign to their domicile can only be prejudicial to the *communes* they have left, and to those to which they have repaired, it is ordered, that those inhabitants who have quitted their residence since the commencement of July, return home by the 28th at the latest, otherwise they shall be deemed accomplices of the evil-disposed persons who disturb the public tranquillity, and their property shall be placed under provisional *sequestration*.'

The fugitives had sufficient inducements to return to their hearths, without the fear of sequestration. They were more anxious to embrace their fathers, mothers, wives, and children, and to resume their ordinary occupations, than M. Bernis could be to ensure their return. But thus denouncing men as criminals, who fled for safety from the sabres of assassins, was adding oil to the fire of persecution. Trestaillon, one of the chiefs of the brigands, was dressed in complete uniform and epaulets which he had stolen; he wore a sabre at his side, pistols in his belt, a cockade of white and green, and a sash of the same colours on his arm. He had under him, Truph  my, Servan, Aim  , and many other desperate characters. Some time after this, M. Bernis ordered all parties and individuals, armed or unarmed, to abstain from searching houses without either an order, or the presence of an officer. On suspicion of arms being concealed, the commandant of the town was ordered to

furnish a patrol to make search and seizure; and all persons carrying arms in the streets, without being on service, were to be arrested. Trestaillon, however, who still carried arms, was not arrested till some months after, and then not by these authorities, but by General La Garde, who was afterwards assassinated by one of his comrades. On this occasion it was remarked, that ‘the system of specious and deceptive proclamations was perfectly understood, and had long been practised in Languedoc: it was *now too late* to persecute the Protestants simply for their religion. Even in the good times of Louis XIV. there was public opinion enough in Europe to make that arch tyrant have recourse to the meanest stratagems.’ The following single specimen of the plan pursued by the authors of the Dragonades may serve as a key to all the plausible proclamations which, in 1815, covered the perpetration of the most deliberate and extensive crimes:—

Letter from Louvois to Marillac.

“The King rejoices to learn from your letters, that there are so many conversions in your department; and he desires that you would continue your efforts, and employ the same means that have been hitherto so successful. His Majesty has ordered me to send a regiment of cavalry, the greatest part of which he wishes to be quartered upon the Protestants, but he does not think it *prudent* that they should be all lodged with them; that is to say, of twenty-six masters, of which a company is composed, if, by a judicious distribution, ten ought to be received by the Protestants, give them twenty, and put them all on the rich, making this pretence, that when there are not soldiers enough in a town for all to

have some, the poor ought to be exempt, and the rich burdened. His Majesty has also thought proper to order, that all converts be exempted from lodging soldiers for two years. This will occasion numerous conversions if you take care that it is rigorously executed, and that in all the distributions and passage of troops, by far the greatest number are quartered on the rich Protestants. His Majesty particularly enjoins, that your orders on this subject, either by yourself or your sub-delegates, be given by word of mouth to the mayors and sheriffs, without letting them know that his Majesty intends by these means to force to become converts, and only explaining to them, that you give these orders on the information you have received, that in these places the rich are excepted by their influence, to the prejudice of the poor."

The merciless treatment of the women in this persecution at Nismes was such as would have disgraced any savages ever heard of. The widows Rivet and Bernard were forced to sacrifice enormous sums; and the house of Mrs. Lecointe was ravaged, and her goods destroyed. Mrs. F. Didier had her dwelling sacked and nearly demolished to the foundations. A party of these bigots visited the widow Perrin, who lived on a little farm at the windmills: having committed every species of devastation, they attacked even the sanctuary of the dead, which contained the relics of her family. They dragged the coffins out, and scattered the contents over the adjacent grounds. In vain this outraged widow collected the bones of her ancestors and replaced them: they were again dug up; and, after several useless efforts, they were reluctantly left spread over the surface of the fields.

Till the period announced for the sequestration of the property of the fugitives by *authority*, murder and plunder were the daily employment of what was called the army of Beaucaire, and the Catholics of Nismes. M. Peyron, of Brossan, had all his property carried off: his wine, oil, seed, grain, several score of sheep, eight mules, three carts, his furniture and effects, all the cash that could be found, and he had only to congratulate himself that his habitation was not consumed, and his vineyards rooted up. A similar process against several other Protestant farmers was also regularly carried on during several days. Many of the Protestants thus persecuted were well known as staunch royalists; but it was enough for their enemies to know that they belonged to the reformed communion: these fanatics were determined not to find either royalists or citizens worthy the common protection of society. To accuse, condemn, and destroy a Protestant, was a matter that required no hesitation. The house of M. Vitte, near the barracks at Nismes, was broken open, and every thing within the walls demolished. A Jew family of lodgers was driven out, and all their goods thrown out of the windows. M. Vitte was seized, robbed of his watch and money, severely wounded, and left for dead. After he had been fourteen hours in a state of insensibility, a commissary of police, touched by his misfortunes, administered some cordials to revive him; and, as a measure of safety, conducted him to the citadel, where he remained many days, whilst his family lamented him as dead. At length, as there was not the slightest charge against him, he obtained his liberation from M. Vidal; but when the Austrians arrived, one of the aides-de-camp, who heard of his sufferings and his respectability, sought him out, and furnished an escort to conduct his family to a place of

safety. Dalbos, the only city beadle who was a Protestant, was dragged from his home and led to prison. His niece threw herself on the neck of one of them and begged for mercy: the ruffian dashed her to the ground. His sister was driven away by the mob; and he being shot, his body remained a long time exposed to the insults of the rabble.

ROYAL DECREE IN FAVOUR OF THE PERSECUTED.

At length the decree of Louis XVIII. which annulled all the extraordinary powers conferred either by the king, the princes, or subordinate agents, was received at Nismes, and the laws were now to be administered by the regular organs, and a new prefect arrived to carry them into effect; but in spite of proclamations, the work of destruction, stopped for a moment, was not abandoned, but soon renewed with fresh vigour and effect. On the 30th of July, Jacques Combe, the father of a family, was killed by some of the national guards of Rusau, and the crime was so public, that the commander of the party restored to the family the pocket-book and papers of the deceased. On the following day tumultuous crowds roamed about the city and suburbs, threatening the wretched peasants; and on the 1st of August they butchered them without opposition. About noon on the same day, six armed men, headed by Truph  my the butcher, surrounded the house of Monot, a carpenter: two of the party, who were smiths, had been at work in the house the day before, and had seen a Protestant who had taken refuge there, M. Bourillon, who had been a lieutenant in the army, and had retired on a pension. He was a man of an excellent character,

peaceable and harmless, and had never served the Emperor Napoleon. Truphémey not knowing him, he was pointed out, partaking of a frugal breakfast with the family. Truphémey ordered him to go along with him, adding, 'Your friend, Saussine, is already in the other world.' Truphémey placed him in the middle of his troop, and artfully ordered him to cry *Vive l'Empereur*; he refused, adding he had never served the Emperor. In vain did the women and children of the house intercede for his life, and praise his amiable and virtuous qualities. He was marched to the Esplanade and shot, first by Truphémey and then by the others. Several persons, attracted by the firing, approached, but were threatened with a similar fate. After some time the wretches departed, shouting *Vive la Roi*. Some women met them, and one of them appearing affected, said one, 'I have killed seven to-day for my share, and if you say a word, you shall be the eighth.' Pierre Courbet, a stocking weaver, was torn from his loom by an armed band, and shot at his own door. His eldest daughter was knocked down with the butt end of a musket; and a poignard was held at the breast of his wife while the mob plundered her apartments. *Paul Héraut, a silk weaver, was literally cut in pieces, in the presence of a large crowd, and amidst the unavailing cries and tears of his wife and four young children. The murderers only abandoned the corpse to return to Héraut's house and secure every thing valuable. The number of murders on this day could not be ascertained. One person saw six bodies at the *Cours Neuf*, and nine were carried to the hospital.

If murder some time after became less frequent for a few days, pillage and forced contributions were actively enforced. M. Salle d'Hombre, at several visits, was

robbed of 7000 francs; and, on one occasion, when he pleaded the sacrifices he had made, 'Look,' said a bandit, pointing to his pipe, 'this will set fire to your house; and this,' brandishing his sword, 'will finish you.' No reply could be made to these arguments. M. Feline, a silk manufacturer, was robbed of 32,000 francs in gold, 3000 francs in silver, and several bales of silk.

The small shopkeepers were continually exposed to visits and demands of provisions, drapery, or whatever they sold; and the same hands that set fire to the houses of the rich, and tore up the vines of the cultivator, broke the looms of the weaver, and stole the tools of the artisan. Desolation reigned in the sanctuary and in the city. The armed bands, instead of being reduced, were increased; the fugitives, instead of returning, received constant accessions, and their friends who sheltered them were deemed rebellious. Those Protestants who remained were deprived of all their civil and religious rights, and even the advocates and huissiers entered into a resolution to exclude all of 'the pretended reformed religion' from their bodies. Those who were employed in selling tobacco were deprived of their licenses. The Protestant deacons who had the charge of the poor were all scattered. Of five pastors only two remained; one of these was obliged to change his residence, and could only venture to administer the consolations of religion, or perform the functions of his ministry, under cover of the night.

Not contented with these modes of torment, calumnious and inflammatory publications charged the Protestants with raising the proscribed standard in the communes, and invoking the fallen Napoleon; and, of course, as unworthy the protection of the laws and the favour of the monarch.

Hundreds after this were dragged to prison without even so much as a *written order*; and though an Official Newspaper, bearing the title of the *Journal du Gard*, was set up, for five months while it was influenced by the prefect, the mayor, and other functionaries, the word *charter* was never once used in it. One of the first numbers, on the contrary, represented the suffering Protestants as 'Crocodiles, only weeping from rage and regret that they had no more victims to devour; as persons who had surpassed Danton, Marat, and Robespierre in doing mischief: and as having prostituted their daughters to the garrison to gain it over to Napoleon.' An extract from this article, stamped with the crown and the arms of the Bourbons, was hawked about the streets, and the vender was adorned with the medal of the police.

PETITION OF THE PROTESTANT REFUGEES.

To these reproaches it is proper to oppose the Petition which the Protestant Refugees in Paris presented to Louis XVIII. in behalf of their brethren at Nismes.

'We lay at your feet, Sire, our acute sufferings. In your name our fellow citizens are slaughtered, and their property laid waste. Misled peasants, in pretended obedience to your orders, had assembled at the command of a commissioner appointed by your august nephew. Although ready to attack us, they were received with the assurances of peace. On the 15th of July, 1815, we learnt your Majesty's entrance into Paris, and the white flag immediately waved on our edifices. The public tranquillity had not been disturbed, when armed peasants introduced themselves. The garrison capitulated, but

were assailed on their departure, and almost totally massacred. Our national guard was disarmed, the city filled with strangers, and the houses of the principal inhabitants, professing the reformed religion, were attacked and plundered. We subjoin the list. Terror has driven from our city the most respectable inhabitants.

‘Your Majesty has been deceived if there has not been placed before you the picture of the horrors which make a desert of your good city of Nismes. Arrests and proscriptions are continually taking place, and difference of *religious* opinions is the real and only cause. The calumniated Protestants are the defenders of the throne. Your nephew has beheld our children under his banners; our fortunes have been placed in his hands. Attacked without reason, the Protestants have not even, by a just resistance, afforded their enemies the fatal pretext for calumny. Save us, Sire! extinguish the brand of civil war: A single act of your will would restore, to political existence, a city interesting for its population and its manufactures. Demand an account of their conduct from the Chiefs who have brought our misfortunes upon us. We place before your eyes all the documents that have reached us. Fear paralyzes the hearts and stifles the complaints of our fellow citizens. Placed in a more secure situation, we venture to raise our voice in their behalf,’ &c. &c.

MONSTROUS OUTRAGE UPON FEMALES.

At Nismes it is well known that the women wash their clothes either at the fountains or on the banks of streams. There is a large basin near the fountain, where numbers of women may be seen, every day, kneeling at

the edge of the water, and beating the clothes with heavy pieces of wood in the shape of battledoors. This spot became the scene of the most shameful and indecent practices. The Catholic rabble turned the women's petticoats over their heads, and so fastened them as to continue their exposure, and their subjection to a newly-invented species of chastisement; for nails being placed in the wood of the *battoirs* in the form of *fleur-de-lis*, they beat them till the blood streamed from their bodies, and their cries rent the air. Often was death demanded as a commutation of this ignominious punishment, but refused with a malignant joy. To carry their outrage to the highest possible degree, several who were in a state of pregnancy were assailed in this manner. The scandalous nature of these outrages prevented many of the sufferers from making them public, and, especially, from relating the most aggravating circumstances. 'I have seen,' says M. Durand, 'a Catholic avocat accompanying the assassins in the fauxbourg Bourgade, arm a battoir with sharp nails in the form of *fleur-de-lis*: I have seen them raise the garments of females, and apply, with heavy blows, to the bleeding body this *battoir* or battledoor, to which they gave a name which my pen refuses to record. The cries of the sufferers—the streams of blood—the murmurs of indignation which were suppressed by fear—nothing could move them. The surgeons who attended on those women who are dead, can attest, by the marks of their wounds, the agonies which they must have endured, which, however horrible, is most strictly true.'

Nevertheless, during the progress of these horrors and obscenities so disgraceful to France and the Catholic religion, the agents of government had a powerful force under their command, and by honestly employing it they

might have restored tranquillity. Murder and robbery however continued, and were winked at, by the Catholic magistrates, with very few exceptions: the administrative authorities, it is true, used words in their proclamations, &c. but never had recourse to actions to stop the enormities of the persecutors, who boldly declared that, on the 24th, the anniversary of St. Bartholomew, they intended to make a general massacre. The members of the reformed church were filled with terror, and, instead of taking part in the election of deputies, were occupied as well as they could in providing for their own personal safety.

ARRIVAL OF THE AUSTRIANS AT NISMES.

About this time, a treaty between the French court and the allied sovereigns prohibited the advance of the foreign troops beyond the line of territory already occupied, and traced by the course of the Loire, and by the Rhone, below the Ardeche. In violation of this treaty, 4000 Austrians entered Nismes on the 24th of August: under pretence of making room for them, French troops, bearing the *feudal* title of Royal Chasseurs, followed by the murdering bands of the Trestaillons and Quatre-taillons, who continued their march to Alais, where a fair was to be held, and carried disorder and alarm into all the communes on that route. Nothing now was heard but denunciations of fusillading, burning, razing, and annihilating; and while the Catholics were feasting and murdering at Nismes, the flames of the country houses of the Protestants, rising 100 feet in the air, rendered the spectacle still more awful and alarming. Unfortunately, some of the peasants, falsely charged with the

murder of two Protestants, were brought to Nismes while the prefect was celebrating the Fete of St. Louis. At a splendid dinner given to the Austrian commanders, and even without quitting the table, it appears, that the French prefect placed the fate and fortune of these unfortunate prisoners at the disposal of Count Stahremberg, who, of course, believing the representations made to him, ordered the accused to be immediately shot. To mortify and exhaust the Protestant communes, the Austrians were directed to occupy them, where they completely disarmed the inhabitants without the least opposition. In fact, these foreigners were soon undeceived. They expected to meet the most perfidious and brutal enemies in arms, and in open rebellion against their king; but, on the contrary, they found them all in peace, and experienced the most kind and respectful treatment; and though their duty was a most vexatious and oppressive one, they performed it in general with moderation. On this account they could not refrain from expressing their astonishment at the reports made to them by the authorities at Nismes, declaring, 'They had found a population suffering great misfortunes, but no rebels; and that compassion was the only feeling that prevailed in their minds.' The commander, himself, was so convinced of the good disposition of the people of the Cevennes, that he visited those districts without an escort, desiring, he said, to travel in that country as he would in his own. Such confidence was a public reproach on the authorities at Nismes, and a sentence of condemnation on all their proceedings.

As the persecution of the Protestants was spreading into other departments, strong and forcible representations were secretly printed and made to the king. All the ordinary modes of communication had been stopped;

the secrecy of letters violated, and none circulated but those relative to private affairs. Sometimes these letters bore the post-mark of places very distant, and arrived without signatures, and enveloped in allegorical allusions. In fact, a powerful resistance on the part of the outraged Protestants was at length apprehended, which, in the beginning of September, excited the proclamation of the king, on which it was observed, 'that if his majesty had been correctly and fully informed of all that had taken place, he surely would not have contented himself with announcing his severe displeasure to a *misled people, who took justice into their own hands, and avenged the crimes committed against royalty.*' The proclamation was dictated as though there had not been a Protestant in the department; it assumed and affirmed throughout the guilt of the sufferers; and while it deplored the atrocious outrages endured by the followers of the duke d'Angouleme (outrages which never existed,) the plunder and massacre of the reformed were not even noticed.

Still disorders kept pace with the proclamations that made a show of suppressing them, and the force of the Catholic faction also continued to increase. The Catholic populace, notwithstanding the decrees of the magistrates, were allowed to retain the arms they had illegally seized, whilst the Protestants in the departments were disarmed. The members of the reformed churches wished at this period to present another memorial to the government, descriptive of the evils they still suffered, but this was not practicable. On the 26th of September, the President of the Consistory wrote as follows: 'I have only been able to assemble two or three members of the consistory pastors or elders. It is impossible to draw up a

memoir, or to collect facts; so great is the terror, that every one is afraid to speak of his own sufferings, or to mention those he has been compelled to witness.'

OUTRAGES COMMITTED IN THE VILLAGES, &c.

We now quit Nismes to take a view of the conduct of the persecutors in the surrounding country. After the re-establishment of the royal government, the local authorities were distinguished for their zeal and forwardness in supporting their employers, and, under pretence of rebellion, concealment of arms, non-payment of contributions, &c. troops, national guards, and armed mobs, were permitted to plunder, arrest, and murder peaceable citizens, not merely with impunity, but with encouragement and approbation. At the village of Milhaud, near Nismes, the inhabitants were frequently forced to pay large sums to avoid being pillaged. This, however, would not avail at Madame Teulon's: On Sunday, the 16th of July, her house and grounds were ravaged; the valuable furniture removed or destroyed, the hay and wood burnt, and the corpse of a child, buried in the garden, taken up and dragged round a fire made by the populace. It was with great difficulty that M. Teulon escaped with his life. M. Picherol, another Protestant, had deposited some of his effects with a Catholic neighbour; this house was attacked, and though all the property of the latter was respected, that of his friend was seized and destroyed. At the same village, one of a party doubting whether M. Hermet, a tailor, was the man they wanted, asked, 'Is he a Protestant?' this he acknowledged. 'Good,' said they, and he was instantly

murdered. In the canton of Vauvert where there was a Consistorial church, 80,000 francs were extorted. In the communes of Beauvoisin and Generac similar excesses were committed by a handful of licentious men, under the eye of the Catholic mayor, and to the cries of 'Vive le Roi.' St. Gilles was the scene of the most unblushing villany. The Protestants, the most wealthy of the inhabitants, were disarmed, whilst their houses were pillaged. The mayor was appealed to:—the mayor laughed and walked away. This officer had, at his disposal, a national guard of several hundred men, organised by his own orders. It would be wearisome to read the lists of the crimes that occurred during many months. At Clavisson the mayor prohibited the Protestants the practice of singing the psalms commonly used in the temple, that, as he said, the Catholics might not be offended or disturbed.

At Sommieres, about ten miles from Nismes, the Catholics made a splendid procession through the town, which continued till evening, and was succeeded by the plunder of the Protestants. On the arrival of foreign troops at Sommieres, the pretended search for arms was resumed; those who did not possess muskets were even compelled to buy them on purpose to surrender them up, and soldiers were quartered on them at six francs per day till they produced the articles in demand. The Protestant church which had been closed, was converted into barracks for the Austrians. After divine service had been suspended for six months at Nismes, the church, by the Protestants called the Temple, was re-opened, and public worship performed on the morning of the 24th of December. On examining the belfry, it was discovered that some persons had carried off the clapper of

the bell. As the hour of service approached, a number of men, women, and children, collected at the house of M. Ribot, the pastor, and threatened to prevent the worship. At the appointed time, when he proceeded towards the church, he was surrounded; the most savage shouts were raised against him; some of the women seized him by the collar; but nothing could disturb his firmness, or excite his impatience: he entered the house of prayer, and ascended the pulpit; stones were thrown in and fell among the worshippers; still the congregation remained calm and attentive, and the service was concluded amidst noise, threats, and outrage. On retiring many would have been killed but for the chasseurs of the garrison, who honourably and zealously protected them. From the Captain of these Chasseurs M. Ribot soon after received the following letter.

‘January 2, 1816.

‘I deeply lament the prejudices of the Catholics against the *Protestants*, who they pretend do not love the king. Continue to act as you have hitherto done, and time and your conduct will convince the Catholics of the contrary: should any tumult occur similar to that of Saturday last, inform me. I preserve my reports of these acts, and if the agitators prove incorrigible, and forget what they owe to the best of kings and the *charter*. I will do my duty, and inform the government of their proceedings. Adieu, my dear Sir; assure the Consistory of my esteem, and of the sense I entertain of the moderation with which they have met the provocations of the evil-disposed at Sommieres. I have the honour to salute you with respect.

SUVAL DE LAINE.’

Another letter to this worthy pastor from the Marquis de Montlord, was received on the 6th of January, to encourage him to unite with all good men who believe in God to obtain the punishment of the assassins, brigands, and disturbers of public tranquillity, and to read the instructions he had received from government to this effect publicly. Notwithstanding this, on the 20th of January, 1816, when the service in commemoration of the death of Louis XVI. was celebrated, a procession being formed, the National Guards fired at the white flag suspended from the windows of the Protestants, and concluded the day by plundering their houses. In the Commune of Angargues, matters were still worse; and in that of Fontanes, from the entry of the king in 1815, the Catholics broke all terms with the Protestants; by day they insulted them, and in the night broke open their doors, or marked them with chalk to be plundered or burnt. St. Mamert was repeatedly visited by these robberies; and at Montmiral, as lately as the 16th of June, 1816, the Protestants were attacked, beaten and imprisoned for daring to celebrate the return of a king who had sworn to preserve religious liberty and to maintain the charter. In fact, to continue the relation of the scenes that took place in the different departments of the South of France, would be little better than a repetition of those we have already described, excepting a change of names: but the most sanguinary of all seems that which was perpetrated at Uzès, at the latter end of August, and the burning of several Protestant places of worship. These shameful persecutions continued till after the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies at the close of the year 1816. After a review of these anti-Protestant proceedings, the reader will not think of comparing them with the riots of Lon-

don in 1780, or with those of Birmingham about 1793; as it is evident that where governments possess absolute power, such events could not have been prolonged for many months and even for years over a vast extent of country, had it not been for the systematic and powerful support of the higher departments of the state.

FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CATHOLICS AT NISMES.

The excesses perpetrated in the country it seems did not by any means divert the attention of the persecutors from Nismes. October, 1815, commenced without any improvement in the principles or the measures of the government, and this was followed by corresponding presumption on the part of the people. Several houses in the Quartier St. Charles were sacked, and their wrecks burnt in the streets, amidst songs, dances, and shouts of *Vive le Roi*. The Mayor appeared, but the merry multitude pretended not to know him, and when he ventured to remonstrate, they told him 'his presence was unnecessary, and that he might retire.' During the 16th of October, every preparation seemed to announce a night of carnage; orders for assembling and signals for attack were circulated with regularity and confidence; Trestaillon reviewed his satellites, and urged them on to the perpetration of crimes, holding with one of those wretches the following dialogue:

Satellite. 'If all the Protestants, without one exception, are to be killed, I will cheerfully join; but as you have so often deceived me, unless they are all to go, I will not stir.'

Trestaillon. ‘Come along then, for this time not a single man shall escape.’—This horrid purpose would have been executed had it not been for General La Garde, the Commandant of the department. It was not till ten o’clock at night that he perceived the danger; he now felt that not a moment could be lost. Crowds were advancing through the suburbs, and the streets were filling with ruffians, uttering the most horrid imprecations. The Générale sounded at eleven o’clock, and added to the confusion that was now spreading through the city. A few troops rallied round the Count La Garde, who was wrung with distress at the sight of the evil which had arrived at such a pitch. Of this M. Durand, a Catholic advocate, gave the following account:

‘It was near midnight, my wife had just fallen asleep; I was writing by her side, when we were disturbed by a distant noise: drums seemed crossing the town in every direction. What could all this mean! To quiet her alarms, I said it probably announced the arrival or departure of some troops of the garrison. But firing and shouts were immediately audible; and on opening my window I distinguished horrible imprecations mingled with cries of *Vive le Roi*: I roused an officer who lodged in the house, and M. Chancel, Director of the Public Works; we went out together, and gained the Boulevarde. The moon shone bright, and every object was nearly as distinct as day; a furious crowd was pressing on, vowing extermination, and the greater part half naked, armed with knives, muskets, sticks, and sabres. In answer to my inquiries, I was told the massacre was general; that many had been already killed in the suburbs. M. Chancel retired to put on his uniform as Captain of the *Pompier*s: the officer retired to the barracks, and anxious for my wife I returned home. By

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the noise I was convinced that persons followed. I crept along in the shadow of the wall, opened my door, entered, and closed it, leaving a small aperture through which I could watch the movements of the party whose arms shone in the moonlight. In a few moments some armed men appeared conducting a prisoner to the very spot where I was concealed. They stopped; I shut my door gently, and mounted an alder tree planted against the garden wall. What a scene! a man on his knees imploring mercy from wretches who mocked his agony, and loaded him with abuse. In the name of my wife and children, he said, spare me! What have I done? Why would you murder me for nothing? I was on the point of crying out and menacing the murderers with vengeance. I had not long to deliberate, the discharge of several fusils terminated my suspense; the unhappy supplicant, struck in the loins and the head, fell to rise no more. The backs of the assassins were towards the tree; they retired immediately, reloading their pieces. I descended and approached the dying man, uttering some deep and dismal groans. Some National Guards arrived at the moment; I again retired and shut the door: "I see," said one, "a dead man." "He sings still," said another. "It will be better," said a third, "to finish him and put him out of his misery." Five or six muskets were fired instantly, and the groans ceased. On the following day crowds came to inspect and insult the deceased. A day after a massacre was always observed as a sort of fete, and every occupation was left to go and gaze upon the victims. This was Louis Lichare, the father of four children; and four years after the event M. Durand verified this account by his oath upon the trial of one of the murderers.'

ATTACK UPON THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

Some time before the death of General La Garde, the Duke of Angouleme had visited Nismes and other cities in the South, and at the former place honoured the members of the Protestant Consistory with an interview, promising them protection, and encouraging them to re-open their temple so long shut up. They have two churches at Nismes, and it was agreed that the small one should be preferred on this occasion, and that the ringing of the bell should be omitted: General La Garde declared that he would answer with his head for the safety of the congregation. The Protestants privately informed each other that worship was once more to be celebrated at ten o'clock, and they began to assemble silently and cautiously. It was agreed that M. Juillerat Chasseur should perform the service, though such was his conviction of danger that he entreated his wife and some of his flock to remain with their families. The temple being opened only as a matter of form and in compliance with the orders of the Duke d'Angouleme, this pastor wished to be the only victim. On his way to the place he passed numerous groupes who regarded him with ferocious looks. 'This is the time,' said some, 'to give them the last blow.' 'Yes,' added others, 'and neither women nor children must be spared.' One wretch raising his voice above the rest exclaimed, 'Ah, I will go and get my musket, and ten for my share.' Through these ominous sounds M. Juillerat pursued his course, but when he gained the temple the sexton had not the courage to open the door, and he was obliged to do it himself. As the worshippers arrived they found strange persons in possession of the adjacent streets, and upon the steps of the church, vowing their worship should

not be performed, and crying ‘Down with the Protestants!’ ‘Kill them! kill them!’ At ten o’clock the church being nearly filled, M. J. Chasseur commenced the prayers; a calm that succeeded was of short duration. On a sudden the minister was interrupted by a violent noise, and a number of persons entered, uttering the most dreadful cries, mingled with *Vive le Roi*: but the gens d’armes succeeded in excluding these fanatics and closing the doors. The noise and tumult without now redoubled, and the blows of the populace trying to break open the doors caused the house to resound with shrieks and groans. The voice of the pastors who endeavoured to console their flock was inaudible; they attempted in vain to sing the 42d Psalm.

Three quarters of an hour rolled heavily away. ‘I place myself,’ says Madame Juillerat, ‘at the bottom of the pulpit, with my daughter in my arms; my husband at length joined and sustained me: I remembered that it was the anniversary of my marriage; after six years of happiness, I said, I am about to die with my husband and my daughter: we shall be slain at the altar of our God, the victims of a sacred duty, and heaven will open to receive us and our unhappy brethren. I blessed the Redeemer, and without cursing our murderers, I awaited their approach.’

M. Olivier, son of a pastor, an officer in the royal troops of the line, attempted to leave the church; the friendly sentinels at the door advised him to remain besieged with the rest. The national guards refused to act, and the fanatical crowd took every advantage of the absence of General La Garde, and of their increasing numbers. At length the sound of martial music was heard, and voices from without called to the besieged, ‘Open, open, and save yourselves.’ Their first impres-

sion was a fear of treachery, but they were soon assured that a detachment returning from mass was drawn up in front of the church to favour the retreat of the Protestants. The door was opened, and many of them escaped among the ranks of the soldiers, who had driven the mob before them; but this street, as well as others through which the fugitives had to pass, was soon filled again. The venerable pastor Olivier Desmond, between 70 and 80 years of age, was surrounded by murderers; they put their fists in his face, and cried 'Kill the chief of brigands.' He was preserved by the firmness of some officers, among whom was his own son; they made a bulwark round him with their bodies, and amidst their naked sabres conducted him to his house. M. Juillerat, who had assisted at divine service, with his wife at his side, and his child in his arms, was pursued and assailed with stones; his mother received a blow on the head, and her life was some time in danger: one woman was shamefully whipped, and several wounded and dragged along the streets. The number of Protestants more or less ill-treated on this occasion, amounted to between seventy and eighty.

MURDER OF GENERAL LA GARDE.

At length a check was put to these excesses by the report of the murder of Count La Garde, who, receiving an account of this tumult, mounted his horse, and entered one of the streets, to disperse a crowd. A villain seized his bridle; another presented the muzzle of a pistol close to his body, and exclaimed, 'Wretch, you make me retire!' He immediately fired. The murderer was Louis

Boissin, a sergeant in the national guard; but, though known to every one, no person endeavoured to arrest him, and he effected his escape. As soon as the General found himself wounded, he gave orders to the gendarmerie to protect the Protestants, and set off on a gallop to his hotel; but fainted immediately on his arrival. On recovering he prevented the surgeon from searching his wound till he had written a letter to the government, that, in case of his death, it might be known from what quarter the blow came, and that none might dare to accuse the Protestants of this crime. The probable death of this General produced a small degree of relaxation on the part of their enemies, and some calm; but the mass of the people had been indulged in licentiousness too long to be restrained even by the murder of the representative of their king. In the evening they again repaired to the temple, and with hatchets broke open the doors: the dismal noise of their blows carried terror into the bosom of the Protestant families sitting in their houses in tears. The contents of the poor's box, and the clothes prepared for distribution, were stolen; the minister's robes rent in pieces; the books torn up or carried away; the closets were ransacked, but the room which contained the archives of the church and the synods, was providentially secured; and had it not been for the numerous patrols on foot, the whole would have become the prey of the flames, and the edifice itself a heap of ruins. In the mean while, the fanatics openly ascribed the murder of the General to his own self-devotion, and said 'that it was the will of God.' Three thousand francs were offered for the apprehension of Boissin; but it was well known that the Protestants dared not arrest him, and that the fanatics would not.

During these transactions, the system of forced conversions to Catholicism was making regular and fearful progress.

INTERFERENCE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

To the credit of England, the reports of these cruel persecutions carried on against our Protestant brethren in France, produced such a sensation on the part of government as determined them to interfere; and now the persecutors of the Protestants made this spontaneous act of humanity and religion the pretext for charging the sufferers with a treasonable correspondence with England; but in this state of their proceedings, to their great dismay a letter appeared, sent some time before to England by the Duke of Wellington, stating "that much information existed on the events of the south."

The ministers of the three denominations in London, anxious not to be misled, requested one of their brethren to visit the scenes of persecution, and examine with impartiality the nature and extent of the evils they were desirous to relieve. The Rev. Clement Perrot undertook this difficult task, and fulfilled their wishes with a zeal, prudence, and devotedness, above all praise. His return furnished abundant and incontestible proof of a shameful persecution, materials for an appeal to the British parliament, and a printed report which was circulated through the continent, and which first conveyed correct information to the inhabitants of France.

Foreign interference was now found eminently useful; and the declarations of tolerance which it elicited from the French government, as well as the more cautious march of the Catholic persecutors, operated as de-

cisive and involuntary acknowledgments of the importance of that interference which some persons at first censured and despised: but though the stern voice of public opinion in England and elsewhere produced a reluctant suspension of massacre and pillage, the murderers and plunderers were still left unpunished, and even caressed and rewarded for their crimes; and whilst Protestants in France suffered the most cruel and degrading pains and penalties for alledged trifling crimes, *Catholics*, covered with blood, and guilty of numerous and horrid murders, were acquitted.

Perhaps the virtuous indignation expressed by some of the more enlightened Catholics against these abominable proceedings, had no small share in restraining them. Many innocent Protestants had been condemned to the gallies, and otherwise punished, for supposed crimes, upon the oaths of wretches the most unprincipled and abandoned. M. Madier de Montgau, Judge of the *Cour Royale* of Nismes, and President of the *Cour d'Assizes* of the Gard and Vaucluse, upon one occasion felt himself compelled to break up the Court, rather than take the deposition of that notorious and sanguinary monster Truph  my: 'In a hall,' says he, 'of the Palace of Justice, opposite that in which I sat, several unfortunate persons persecuted by the faction were upon trial: every deposition tending to their crimination was applauded with the cries of '*Vive le Roi.*' Three times the explosion of this atrocious joy became so terrible, that it was necessary to send for reinforcements from the barracks, and two hundred soldiers were often unable to restrain the people. On a sudden the shouts and cries of '*Vive le Roi*' redoubled: a man arrives, caressed, applauded, borne in triumph—it is the horrible Truph  my; he approaches the tribunal—he comes to depose

against the prisoners—he is admitted as a witness—he raises his hand to take the oath! Seized with horror at the sight, I rush from my seat, and enter the hall of council; my colleagues follow me; in vain they persuade me to resume my seat; ‘No!’ exclaimed I, ‘I will not consent to see that wretch admitted to give evidence in a Court of Justice in the city which he has filled with murders; in the palace, on the steps of which he has murdered the unfortunate Bourillon. I cannot admit that he should kill his victims by his testimonies no more than by his poniards. He an accuser! he a witness! No, never will I consent to see this monster rise, in the presence of magistrates, to take a sacrilegious oath, his hand still reeking with blood.’ These words were repeated out of doors; the witness trembled; the factious also trembled; the factious who guided the tongue of Truphémey as they had directed his arm, who dictated calumny after they had taught him murder. These words penetrated the dungeons of the condemned, and inspired hope; they gave another courageous advocate the resolution to espouse the cause of the persecuted: he carried the prayers of innocence and misery to the foot of the throne; there he asked if the evidence of a Truphémey was not sufficient to annul a sentence. The king granted a full and free pardon.

PERJURY IN THE CASE OF GENERAL GILLY, &c.

This Catholic system of subordination and perjury was carried to such an infamous degree, that twenty-six witnesses were found to sign and swear, that on the 3d of April, 1815, General Gilly, with his own hand, and *before their eyes*, took down the white flag at Nismes;

though it was proved that at the time when the tri-coloured flag was raised in its room, the General was fifteen leagues from Nismes, and that he did not arrive there till *three* days after that event. Before tribunals thus constructed even innocence had not the least chance for protection. General Gilly knew better than to appear before them, and was condemned to death for contempt of court. But when he left Nismes, he thought either of passing into a foreign country, or of joining the army of the Loire; and it was long supposed that he had actually escaped. As it was impossible to gain any point, or find any security, his only hope was in concealment, and a friend found him an asylum in the cottage of a peasant; but that peasant was a Protestant and the General was a Catholic: however, he did not hesitate; he confided in this poor man's honour. This cottage was in the canton of Anduze; the name of its keeper, Perrier: he welcomed the fugitive, and did not even ask his name: it was a time of proscription, and his host would know nothing of him; it was enough that he was unfortunate, and in danger. He was disguised, and he passed for Perrier's cousin. The General is naturally amiable, and he made himself agreeable, sat by the fire, ate potatoes, and contented himself with miserable fare. Though subject to frequent and many painful alarms, he preserved his retreat several months, and often heard the visitors of his host boast of the concealment of General Gilly, or of being acquainted with the place of his retreat. Patrols were continually searching for arms in the houses of Protestants; and often in the night the General was obliged to leave his mattress, half naked, and hide himself in the fields. Perrier, to avoid these inconveniences, made an under-ground passage, by which his guest could pass to an outhouse. The wife of Perrier

could not endure that one who had seen better days should live as her family did, on vegetables and bread, and occasionally bought meat to regale the melancholy stranger. These unusual purchases excited attention; it was suspected that Perrier had some one concealed; nightly visits were more frequent. In this state of anxiety he often complained of the hardness of his lot. Perrier one day returned from market in a serious mood; and, after some inquiries from his guest, he replied, 'Why do you complain? you are fortunate, compared with the poor wretches whose heads were cried in the market to-day: Bruguier, the pastor, at 2400 francs; Bresse, the mayor, at the same; and General Gilly at 10,000!'—'Is it possible?' 'Aye, it is certain.' Gilly concealed his emotion; a momentary suspicion passed his mind; he appeared to reflect. 'Perrier,' said he, 'I am weary of life; you are poor, and want money: I know Gilly and the place of his concealment; let us denounce him; I shall, no doubt, obtain my liberty, and you shall have the 10,000 francs.' The old man stood speechless, and as if petrified. His son, a gigantic peasant, 27 years of age, who had served in the army, rose from his chair, in which he had listened to the conversation, and in a tone not to be described, said, 'Sir, hitherto we thought you unfortunate, but honest; we have respected your sorrow, and kept your secret; but, since you are one of those wretched beings who would inform of a fellow creature, and insure his death to save yourself, there is the door; and if you do not retire, I will throw you out of the window.' Gilly hesitated; the peasant insisted; the General wished to explain, but he was seized by the collar. 'Suppose I should be General Gilly,' said the fugitive. The soldier paused. 'And it is even so,' continued he; 'denounce me, and

the 10,000 francs are your's.' The soldier threw himself on his neck; the family were dissolved in tears; they kissed his hands, his clothes, protested they would never let him leave them, and that they would die rather than he should be arrested. In their kindness he was more secure than ever: but their cottage was more suspected, and he was ultimately obliged to seek another asylum. The family refused any indemnity for the expense he had occasioned them, and it was not till long after that he could prevail upon them to accept an acknowledgment for their hospitality and their fidelity. In 1820, when the course of justice was more free, General Gilly demanded a trial; there was nothing against him; and the Duke d'Angouleme conveyed to Madame Gilly the permission of the king for the return of her husband to the bosom of his country.

But, even when the French government was resolved to bring the factions of the department of Gard under the laws, the same men continued to exercise the public functions. The society, called *Royale*, and its secret committee, maintained a power superior to the laws. It was impossible to procure the condemnation of an assassin, though the evidence against him was incontestible, and for whom, in other times, there would have been no hope. The Truphémys, and others of his stamp, appeared in public, wearing immense mustachoes, and white cockades embroidered with green. Like the brigands of Calabria, they had two pistols and a poniard at their waists. Their appearance diffused an air of melancholy mixed with indignation. Even amidst the bustle of the day there was the silence of fear, and the night was disturbed by atrocious songs, or vociferations like the sudden cry of ferocious wild beasts.

ULTIMATE RESOLUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS AT NISMES.

With respect to the conduct of the Protestants, these highly outraged citizens, pushed to extremities by their persecutors, felt at length that they had only to choose the manner in which they were to perish. They unanimously determined that they would die fighting in their own defence. This firm attitude apprised their butchers that they could no longer murder with impunity. Every thing was immediately changed. Those, who for four years had filled others with terror, now felt it in their turn. They trembled at the force which men, so long resigned, found in despair, and their alarm was heightened when they heard that the inhabitants of the Cevennes, persuaded of the danger of their brethren, were marching to their assistance. But, without waiting for these reinforcements, the Protestants appeared at night in the same order, and armed in the same manner as their enemies. The others paraded the Boulevards, with their usual noise and fury; but the Protestants remained silent and firm in the posts they had chosen. Three days these dangerous and ominous meetings continued; but the effusion of blood was prevented by the efforts of some worthy citizens distinguished by their rank and fortune. By sharing the dangers of the Protestant population, they obtained the pardon of an enemy who now trembled while he menaced.

But though the Protestants were modest in their demands, only asking present safety, and security for the future, they did not obtain above half of their requests. The dissolution of the National Guard at Nismes was owing to the prudence and firmness of M. Laine. The re-organization of the *Cour Royale* was effected by M. Pasquier, then Keeper of the Seals; and these measures

certainly ensured them a present safety, but no more. M. Madier de Montgau, the generous champion of the Protestants of Nismes, was officially summoned before the Court of Cassation at Paris, over which M. de Serre, Keeper of the Seals, presided, to answer for an alleged impropriety of conduct as a magistrate, in making those public appeals to the Chamber which saved the Protestants, and increased the difficulties of renewing those persecutions of which he complained. The French Attorney General demanded the erasure of his name from the list of magistrates, but this the Court refused. Unfortunately, since the law of Elections in France has been changed, two of the bitterest enemies of the Protestants have been chosen Deputies at Nismes. The future, therefore, is not without its dangers, and the condition of the persecuted may fluctuate with the slightest political alteration; but which, it is to be hoped, may be prevented from any acts that may again disgrace the Catholic religion by the powerful expression of the public mind, actuated with better principles, or by the interference of the Protestant influence in this or other countries. Happily, since the year 1820, no fresh complaints have issued from the South of France on the score of religion.

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